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THE MODERN WORLD

A SURVEY OF HISTORICAL FORCES

Edited by Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, F.R.S.

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SCOTLAND

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FOREWORD

THE Editor regards himself as singularly fortunate in that he has prevailed upon so busy a man as the Principal of Glasgow University to contribute from his unrivalled store of Scottish historical knowledge to the earlier part of this volume. Sir Robert Rait has traced with a masterly hand the story of Scotland from the Roman conquest to the Union of the Kingdoms. Thenceforward the tale is taken up by Dr. G. S. Pryde, who in a series of chapters dealing with the main aspects of a nation's life, deposits a massive block of exact and well ordered knowledge calculated to be of special value to all who, for one practical reason or another, have occasion to concern themselves with Scottish affairs.

It is well that we should have these facts at our disposal. There was a time when few Englishmen troubled their heads about their northern neighbour. They thought of Scotland as a happy holiday ground, rich and prosperous, and in respect of political convictions, firmly rooted in the Liberal faith. It was for the malcontent Irish to demand Home Rule. Westminster was good enough for Balfour and Campbell Bannerman, for Keir Hardie and MacDonald. How could Glasgow complain of her lot, seeing that in 1913 there was more shipbuilding on the Clyde alone than in all the ports of Germany? The industrial expansion of Scotland, dating from the seventies of the last century, was so remarkable as to muffle the voice of complaint.

Things have changed now. We are all conscious that Scotland is faced with anxious problems. There is great unemployment and misery. In some quarters there is a demand for Legislative Home Rule, in others for administrative decentralization. Not many years

ago an imposing Scottish deputation went to Sir William Joynson-Hicks, then Home Secretary, with a demand that Irish immigration should be checked or prohibited. It was urged that unless something were done, the balance of creeds and races would be finally upset, and that Scotland would lose her ancient character of stalwart self-sufficiency and descend in the human scale. Already one eighth of the population was alien in race, in mode of life, and in religious creed. Was not this proportion dangerously high? And was it not, under priestly influence, likely to become higher still? Again all was not well with Scottish industry. Was it not, in Dr. Pryde's words "over expanded and insufficiently varied" and therefore liable to sudden and serious dislocation? The atmosphere is charged with these and other doubts and misgivings. "The future of Scotland question" is on the *tapis*. The man of sentiment recommends a revival of Gaelic, or finds the golden age of his country in the fifteenth century, before John Knox had begun to trouble the face of the waters.

Here, then, is a magazine of facts by which some of these ideas may be tested. I will cite one instance out of many. Dr. Pryde is dealing with the claim of the extreme Scottish nationalist that Scotland pays more than she receives under the financial arrangements of the Union. In December 1932, a Treasury White Paper gave the figures for 1931-2. "A simple calculation," writes Dr. Pryde, "shows that on the basis of that year's revenue and expenditure, a fiscally independent Scotland, assessed for joint purposes according to her population, would have been called on to raise an additional sum of over £23 millions, involving an increase of 34.3 per cent. in actual revenue," from which he concludes that "At no time in Scotland's history has it been less true that the Union is financially prejudicial to Scotland." These figures may not be conclusive against Scottish Home Rule, but that they are relevant to the question is obvious to all.

H. A. L. FISHER.

LIST OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
EDITOR'S FOREWORD	v
PREFATORY NOTE	ix
I. THE MAKING OF THE NATION	i
II. FROM THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE REFORMATION	20
III. FROM THE UNION OF THE CROWNS TO THE UNION OF THE KINGDOMS	54
IV. POST-UNION POLITICS	79
V. MODERN SCOTTISH POLITICS	112
VI. THE GOVERNMENT OF SCOTLAND	156
VII. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS.	188
VIII. RELIGION	258
IX. SCOTTISH CULTURE	290
BIBLIOGRAPHY	340
INDEX	347

PREFATORY NOTE

THE narrative up to the Union of the Kingdoms has been written by Sir Robert Rait, the rest of the book by Dr. G. S. Pryde, and each author is responsible for the opinions expressed in his own section. Dr. Pryde acknowledges with gratitude the help received from Professor J. D. Mackie, of the University of Glasgow, especially in connection with Chapter VI, from Mr. John Buyers, Lecturer in Economic History in the University, in reading over Chapter VII, and from Miss A. M. Hill, Research Student in the University, in supplying and checking statistical information in Chapter VIII.

The University,
Glasgow.
April 1934.

CHAPTER I

THE MAKING OF THE NATION

THE historical Kingdom of Scotland emerged from an amalgamation of four peoples: Picts, Gaels, Britons, and Angles. When the Romans invaded Scotland they found a people whom they described as Caledonians, including a race of Gaels or Goidels, and the mysterious Picts, who, in historical times, spoke a Gaelic tongue, but whose origin has been a matter of persistent controversy. Roman invasion and occupation left little or no impress upon the country, and after the abandonment of the Wall of Antoninus Pius between Forth and Clyde, about the year 180 A.D., there is a long interval during which we know nothing about the course of events, except for punitive expeditions by the Emperor Severus in 208 and by Theodosius (father of the first emperor of that name) in 368. Before the Romans left Britain, Christianity had been introduced into what was to become Southern Scotland by St. Ninian (died c. 432). It used to be assumed that the influence of St. Ninian and his disciples was confined to the south-west and that it was short-lived, but recent discussions have attributed more widespread and more persistent effects to the teaching of the first Scottish missionary.

The conquest of South Britain by the Angles and the Saxons led to the settlements in the northern portion of the island. Britons, driven out by the invaders, established themselves in the region between the Mersey and the Clyde, and the conquering Angles, about the middle of the sixth century, founded the Kingdom of Bernicia, which extended from the Tees to the Forth, along a coast where Teutonic immigration had been in progress for some time. Somewhat earlier,

in the beginning of the sixth century, bodies of Gaels or Goidels came from Ireland to what is now Argyll, and founded a kingdom of Dalriada or Scot-land. The political importance of the Scots was enhanced by the mission of St. Columba, who landed in the island of Iona in 563. His work prepared the way for an ultimate union of the Picts and Scots, and that union made possible the existence of a kingdom of Scotland.

In the time of St. Columba, the most probable future of North Britain might well have seemed to be a division into three kingdoms. Picts and Scots would unite to form one kingdom of Pictland or Scotland north of Clyde and Forth; the British in Strathclyde would form part of a great western kingdom, stretching from the Clyde to the Bristol Channel, and the Lothians would remain part of the great Anglian kingdom. Only the first part of such a forecast came true. After many years, the invasions of the Northmen led to a union of Picts and Scots under the king of Dalriada, Kenneth MacAlpin, in 844. But the chance of the emergence of a great British kingdom was destroyed as early as the first quarter of the seventh century, by the capture of Chester by the Angles, and the consequent separation of the Britons of Cambria and Strathclyde from the Britons of Wales. Thus isolated, the Britons had to meet the military power of Northumbria at its greatest, and they had also to fight the Picts and the Northmen. A separate kingdom of the Strathclyde Britons persisted for many years, though often in dependence upon one of its neighbours, until, in 1018, Duncan, the heir of the throne of the Picts and Scots, succeeded to the throne of Strathclyde.

A separate kingdom of the Angles existed until the same memorable year, 1018. At one period, it seemed as if the Angles were to penetrate much farther north, but the defeat of Ecgrith, King of Northumbria, by Brude, King of the Picts, at Dunnichen (Nectansmere) in Angus, in 685, was the deathblow to Northumbrian greatness. Finally, at the battle of Carham-on-Tweed, in 1018, Malcolm II, King of Picts and Scots, defeated

the Northumbrians and annexed the Lothians to Scotland. Malcolm's grandson, Duncan, the Duncan of *Macbeth*, was the first king of Scots in the historical sense of the term. He ruled Dalriada, Pictland, Strathclyde and Lothian, although the Northmen had made settlements on the coasts and were in possession of Caithness and Sutherland. Duncan's reign over Scotland (1034-40) was brief and unfortunate, and he was slain by his own general, Macbeth, who succeeded him on the throne. Macbeth appears to have ruled competently until, in 1057, Malcolm, a son of Duncan, with English help, defeated and slew him at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire. The long reign of Malcolm III (Canmore) witnessed the initiation of profound changes in the history of Scotland.

The outstanding fact in the history of Scotland is the fundamental change which, in the course of two centuries, converted the population of the Lowlands into an English-speaking community whose social and political life was organized on the model of the Anglo-Norman kingdom of England. It is true that, long after the reign of Alexander III, when this process may, for practical purposes, be regarded as complete, the Gaelic tongue lingered in regions which are geographically Lowland, but the battle between English speech and civilization on the one hand, and the Gaelic language and a Celtic organization on the other hand, was fought and won between the marriage of Malcolm Canmore and the death of Alexander III. So complete was the English victory that historians have accounted for this social and political revolution by the assumption that the Gaelic population was displaced and that the Lowlands of Scotland were colonized by a people of English blood. Outside the Lothians, which, as we have seen, were for a long period part of an English kingdom, there is no evidence of a popular immigration, except for the circumstance that English traders settled in the burghs on the east coast. But the theory of a racial displacement had an attraction both for poetry and for history. It suited the purpose of Sir

Walter Scott in *The Lady of the Lake* to portray a racial cleavage between Saxon and Celt in Scotland :

“ These fertile plains, that softened vale
Were once the birthright of the Gael ;
The stranger came with iron hand
And from our fathers reft the land.”

The assumption of an English colonization of Lowland Scotland, which added dramatic force to the poet's theme, possessed a different appeal for English historians, and especially for Green and Freeman. Liberal in politics and sympathizing with contemporary struggles for national freedom, they were concerned to reconcile their own principles with the Scottish policy of Edward I, for whom, as a sovereign of England, each of them cherished a profound, and a legitimate, admiration. What if Edward was merely trying to restore to the English fold some strayed sheep ? What if the Lowlanders of Scotland were (in Green's phrase) “ stout Northumbrian Englishmen,” and if the Scottish War of Independence was merely an effort to disrupt the English nation, an effort in which rebels of English race allied themselves with the Celts in order to diminish the greatness of England ? The secular enmity of Saxon and Celt forced Roderick Dhu to decline the pacific overtures of FitzJames, and the same fundamental racial cleavage at an earlier date rendered it the plain duty of an English monarch to assert and maintain the essential interests of England. The theory that, at some unknown time and in some obscure way, the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland between the Moray Firth and the Firth of Forth, or between the Firth of Clyde and the Solway, had been expelled by an English immigration was thus a useful weapon to the defenders of the first Edward. That there is no body of historical evidence in its support did not much matter, for, after all, Freeman and Green were writing the history of England, not of Scotland, and the greatest of Scotsmen had secured unquestioned acceptance for an unsubstantiated assumption.

The process by which a revolution in manners, customs, organization and language was accomplished is easily traceable, and it constitutes the history of Scotland for two centuries. It was begun by the English princess Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling, who married Malcolm Canmore about the year 1070, but Margaret herself was able to achieve very little. An Englishwoman who had been educated on the continent of Europe, she had small respect for Celtic customs and institutions, but her husband's life, as we shall see in another connection, was largely spent in warfare with England, and he showed no tendency to adapt the institutions of his Celtic kingdom to the organization which the Norman conqueror of England was engaged in establishing there. Malcolm himself owed something to England; he had found shelter there during the reign of Macbeth, and had received Northumbrian help on the occasion of at least one of his invasions of Scotland. But the England which he knew was not the England of the Normans, and, with some ingratitude, he chose to avenge the wrongs of the Saxon house upon the North of England, which had much better reason to hate the Normans than he could profess.

Such changes as Queen Margaret achieved were in the Church. She was a devout woman, who would gladly have taken the veil, and her enthusiasm for the Roman Church was so much stronger than her antipathy to the Normans that she regarded herself as the daughter in the Lord of Lanfranc, Norman Archbishop of Canterbury. She found in Scotland an ill-organized Church, its original monastic constitution destroyed, and its episcopal constitution ineffective. The abbots were frequently laymen who hired secular priests or Culdees to perform the services. The clergy were not celibate—this, of course, was frequent all over Europe until the Lateran Council of 1139—and there was a marked tendency for ecclesiastical offices to become hereditary. The Queen was shocked by Celtic practices "contrary to the rules of the true faith as well as

to the sacred customs of the Universal Church." These practices were more or less matters of detail—one of them was an old-fashioned method of calculating the beginning of Lent—and there is no reason to suspect the existence of heresy. Our information is derived from a biography of Queen Margaret, written by her Saxon confessor, Turgot, prior of Durham. He describes how the Queen persuaded the Scottish Church to abandon the celebration of "masses in I know not what barbarous rite, contrary to the custom of the whole Church," and "other practices contrary to the rule of faith and the observances of the Church." If the divergence from ecclesiastical canons had been anything so violent as the celebration of mass in the Gaelic tongue, Turgot could scarcely have failed to mention the circumstance, for his object was to exalt the greatness of his lady's achievement. What we do learn from him shows that the Scottish Church had fallen out of touch with Roman custom and Roman organization, but that it did not reject Roman doctrine.

The reformation of these points of detail was only the beginning of a process which Queen Margaret could not live to complete. The circumstances of the time were not propitious, and her husband was content to allow her to follow her own bent without either help or hindrance. His reign was largely spent in invasions of England which brought retaliations from William the Conqueror and William Rufus. One of these raids provoked a counter-invasion in 1072, when the Conqueror, granting to Malcolm some lands in England, received from him an undefined homage; the last of them, in 1093, was the occasion of Malcolm's own death. He fell in a skirmish at Alnwick, and his eldest son, Edward, was mortally wounded in the same fight. Margaret survived her husband and son for only a few days.

The English queen had roused in Celtic Scotland—and Scotland was still Celtic outside the Lothians—a deep-rooted suspicion and antagonism. Malcolm's people foresaw, and tried to prevent, a process of

Anglicization in Church and State. On his death, they rejected the claims of the sons of Malcolm and Margaret, whose English Christian names were a sign and symbol of the revolutionary changes contemplated by their mother, and, following an ancient custom, chose as king a brother of Malcolm named Donald. At the same time, they drove out of Scotland the Englishmen who had come to Margaret's Court, just as the English, at the time of the revolt of Earl Godwin, had driven out the Confessor's Norman favourites. The effort was made in vain. Malcolm had a son, Duncan, born out of wedlock, or the offspring of a former marriage, who had been living in England, a hostage given by Malcolm to William I. With English help, he overthrew Donald in 1093, and promised that he would receive neither Saxons nor Normans in Scotland. A year later, he fell a victim to an alliance between Donald and Edmund, a son of Malcolm and Margaret. They divided the country, Donald ruling north of the Forth and Edmund south of it, and for three years it seemed as if Celtic Scotland was to remain a separate kingdom, though the Celts of Strathclyde and Galloway were not included in it and seem to have lived in provincial independence. Then in 1097, Edgar, one of the four sons of Malcolm and Margaret who bore the names of Saxon kings, defeated Duncan and Edmund with the help of an English army, and reigned for ten years. He changed the capital from Dunfermline to Edinburgh, living peaceably in English Scotland, and allowing the Norwegians to take possession of the western islands.

Edgar's brother, Alexander, who succeeded him in 1107, was a man of another type. He allowed a younger brother, David, to govern the Lothians and Galloway, and made a home for himself at Invergowrie in Perthshire, in the heart of Celtic Scotland, and he suppressed so vigorously a revolt of the men of Moray and the Mearns that he became known as Alexander the Fierce. David succeeded him in 1124, and continued and developed his policy. It was in David's

long reign (1124-53) that the process of Anglicization or Anglo-Normanization came to be definitely accepted outside the Western and Northern Highlands. The Court, the Church, the law, the institutions of the kingdom and its commerce, were alike subjected to English influence.

Edgar, Alexander and David had all lived at the English court, David for many years. Their sister Matilda was married to Henry I in 1100; Alexander's wife is said to have been a natural daughter of the same English sovereign, and David married the widow of a Norman baron who was also the heiress of the old English earls of Northumbria and Huntingdon, and brought with her claims to wide English lands. The Church, in the reigns of Alexander and David, came to be divided into dioceses as elsewhere in Europe. The Celtic Church had suffered from lack of organization, and there was no machinery to keep it in touch with Western Christendom. All the mediæval Scottish dioceses, with the exception of Argyll or Lismore, were founded between the accession of Alexander I in 1107 and the death of David I in 1153. The establishment of the see of St. Andrews in 1109 was the occasion of much controversy, for both the English archbishops claimed jurisdiction over Scotland, and two successive appointments were ineffectual because the first bishop, Turgot, Margaret's confessor, acknowledged the pretensions of York, and the second, Eadmer, the historian and the biographer of St. Anselm, declared that not for all Scotland would he renounce being a monk of Canterbury. It was not until after the death of Eadmer, that Alexander, at the close of his life, was able to make a successful nomination to St. Andrews, but in the interval he founded other sees, and, before the end of David's reign, every district of Scotland had a recognized ecclesiastical ruler, who could communicate with Rome and whose business it was to secure the proper observance of the order and discipline of the Roman Church. The institution of dioceses had a profound political importance. Every bishop was a

landowner and a magnate of the realm, and all the bishops, in virtue of their position, were necessarily supporters of the Crown and the royal policy, and enemies of Celtic institutions and customs, ecclesiastical and secular alike. The early occupants of the new sees were, for the most part, Englishmen, and in the rare instances in which a new bishop bore a Celtic name we may be sure that he was a Scotsman who had identified himself with the new influences, and, unlike the clergy found by Queen Margaret in Scotland, could speak the English tongue.

To the political influence of the dioceses, there must be added that of the monasteries. Queen Margaret had found in Scotland a form of canonical life which had become frequent about the beginning of the ninth century. The Culdees represented a development from ascetics who, in early Ireland, lived in isolated cells; in Scotland they were religious communities not belonging to any of the recognized orders. Malcolm and Margaret had shown them favour, and Turgot had described them as "men who lived in the flesh, but not according to the flesh, and even on earth lived the life of angels." But the Culdees were conservatives who maintained traditional Celtic custom, and it was essential for the royal policy that they should yield place to religious who belonged to one or other of the monastic orders. Even before the death of Margaret, a great Benedictine house was founded at Coldingham, but this was in English Scotland. Her sons established monasteries in the country north of the Forth. Some of these, like the mother house of Canons Regular or Austin Canons, founded by Alexander I at Scone in 1114, were independent foundations; others were originally colonies from Lothian houses. David I, for example, re-founded a Benedictine monastery at Kelso in 1128, from which were planted houses in the Celtic parts of Scotland—Kilwinning in Ayrshire, Lesmahagow in Lanarkshire, Lindores in Fife, Arbroath in Forfarshire, and Fyvie in Aberdeenshire. Similarly, David's great foundation of Canons Regular at Holyrood

came to be closely associated with the south-west of Scotland, owing to the accident that, in the reign of Malcolm IV, a rebellious prince of Galloway, defeated in an effort to resist Anglicization, became a canon of Holyrood, endowed it with lands in Kirkcudbrightshire, and founded the daughter house of St. Mary's Isle.

The monasteries, like the bishops, were landowners, and their abbots or priors ranked with the great men of the realm. The early monks were Englishmen (David I, for example, brought monks from Canterbury to Dunfermline in 1128), and they and their successors, drawn chiefly from great Scottish families, were necessarily upholders of English influence. James I afterwards complained that his ancestor, David I, had attained the honour of popular canonization by being "a sair sanct for the Crown," but there was policy as well as piety in the lavish grants of land made by Alexander I and his successors to diocesan and monastic establishments. These grants were made during a great period of monastic revival in Europe, and were doubtless rendered easier of accomplishment by this circumstance: it was natural that the King of Scots should do what princes were doing elsewhere. The new monasteries replaced the Culdee establishments, though some of these lingered until after the War of Independence.

A new system of land tenure, in accordance with which bishoprics and religious houses were endowed, was itself a potent instrument for the establishment of English influence. The sons of Queen Margaret introduced feudalism into Scotland. The old Celtic method of land tenure was not, as has been sometimes imagined, communal. The land was held by the chief and his near kindred, and the generality of a tribe had nothing to lose by feudalization. Nor was there, except in a few rebellious areas, any racial displacement, nor even any actual dispossession of existing holders of land. The system, when it came to be applied to the Scotland of David I, was well-developed, and large grants of land were a feature of the time in England and other

European countries. When David I made to his friend, Robert de Brus, a member of a great Anglo-Norman family, a gift of some 200,000 acres in Annandale, or to the FitzAlans, afterwards the royal Stewarts, a district comprising the modern county of Renfrew and a large portion of Kyle in Ayrshire, he deprived no man of his heritage. The newcomers received rights and privileges which had belonged to the Crown, and not to the occupants of the land, but these rights and privileges placed the tenants in a position of dependence upon their new lords. They held their lands from Bruce or FitzAlan, and some of them owed him, not only money rents, but actual services rendered at seed-time or harvest, or in carriage of goods, or in making of roads. Besides the free tenants of varying social rank, there were occupants of the land who were bondsmen, and these serfs and their offspring were often granted in the deeds of gift. Serfs could not, as a rule, be sold away from the land to which they belonged, but, if they escaped from it, the law provided for their being brought back to it by force. Charters conferring land and jurisdiction over the occupants of land were conferred by the Crown not only upon the Anglo-Norman friends of the sovereign, but also upon Scottish chiefs who adopted the new ways of the court and were glad to possess written evidence of their old customary rights and to have these rights enlarged in written charters.

Thus there grew up in the Lowlands the characteristically Scottish institution of the Family, while in the Highlands, the old tribal system developed into the Clan. The division of Scotland into Clans and Families marks the distinction between Celtic Scotland and Anglicized Scotland. The Clan, in its historical form, cannot be traced to an earlier date than the end of the fourteenth century; it represents the natural development of Celtic institutions and civilization. The Family, dating from the twelfth century, was the direct result of the land system introduced by David I. The recipients of his charters became supreme in their own

districts and had the right of granting land and privileges to under-tenants. These were often members of their own families—the rise of some hundred and fifty Gordon families in Aberdeenshire after a grant of land to a Gordon in the early fourteenth century is an excellent illustration—but as the use of surnames became frequent, the tenants and dependents of a great house adopted its family name, and the family became a unit comparable to the clan; it possibly derived some of its cohesion from the same Celtic tradition that inspired the loyalty of clansmen to their chief.

Along with feudalism as a system of land tenure, David I and his successors introduced into Scotland the political institutions associated with feudal monarchies. The royal household came to be an administrative unit and to include such great officers of State as the Chancellor, the Chamberlain, the Constable, and the Marshal, and Clerks of the Kitchen and the Wardrobe. The laws were based on English exemplars, and the office of Sheriff, English in name and origin, was established. At a later date, many Scottish sheriffdoms became hereditary and therefore independent of the Crown, but, originally, the sheriff, in Scotland as in England, was the king's representative, charged with the maintenance of his interests in matters of justice and finance. A Great Council of the Realm, based upon English precedent, came into existence, consisting in theory of all tenants-in-chief. To these councils the king summoned bishop, abbot and prior, as well as earl and baron.

Finally, the development of commerce gave a fresh impulse to English influence. Commerce was chiefly with England, and an expansion of trade under David I and his successors brought into the towns a new population of English and Flemish merchants, many of the Flemings coming to Scotland via England. Thus was introduced into Scotland the institution of the Burgh; Scottish burghs were founded on English precedents, and the whole system of burghal law and custom was derived from English models. Charters

given by David I, for example, often avowedly follow the charter of Winchester. Thus, between the beginning of the twelfth century and the close of the thirteenth century, the influences of the Church, the court, the law, and of political and commercial institutions, all combined to bring about, in the Scottish Lowlands, a change of speech and civilization, unaccompanied by any racial displacement. The nobility became Anglo-Norman, partly by the introduction into Scotland of Anglo-Norman families and partly by the intermarriage of Anglo-Normans with the old Celtic houses; the ancient line of the lords of Galloway, for example, ended with three co-heiresses, daughters of Alan FitzRoland, himself the son of a marriage between a Celtic chief and a daughter of the family of de Moreville. These co-heiresses married, respectively, the Earl of Winchester, John Balliol, and William of Aumale. There was also an infiltration of English blood into the burghs, but there is no evidence of such an expulsion of the Gael as Scott assumed in *The Lady of the Lake*. The facts were known to the mediæval Scottish historians. "Those of us who live on the borders of England," wrote Hector Boece, "have forsaken our own tongue and learned English, being driven thereto by wars and commerce. But the Highlanders remain just as they were in the time of Malcolm Canmore, in whose days we began to adopt English manners."

This revolution was not entirely peaceful. The Celtic reaction which followed the death of Malcolm Canmore was only the first of a long series of revolts against the sons of Malcolm and Margaret. Alexander I, David I, Malcolm IV, William the Lion and Alexander II had all to face serious rebellions of the Gaelic population in various parts of Scotland. The revolt of Angus, Earl of Moray, and his brother, Malcolm MacHeth, in the reign of David I, lasted for some five years and was suppressed only with the help of the king's Anglo-Norman friends in the north of England; ultimately, the Celtic earldom was suppressed, the lands were distributed among new proprietors, and

religious houses—Kinloss, Pluscardine, Urquhart—were founded in the district, in accordance with the methods of the time. William the Lion had to deal with rebellions both in Galloway and in the north. The last of the Galloway revolts (1234) may be said to mark the end of Celtic resistance. Its cause was the unwillingness of the Galwegians to pass under the jurisdiction of the Anglo-Norman husbands of the heiresses to whom we have already referred. They begged Alexander to annex the lordship of Galloway to the Crown and to rule them directly. The development of feudal ideas may, perhaps, be illustrated by the remark of the contemporary writer of the *Melrose Chronicle*. "The king," he says, "was too just to do this." Two campaigns were needed to compel obedience to the new families. The suppression of these revolts hastened the process of the supersession of the ancient nobility by strangers or the parallel process of the acceptance of the new polity by the old lords. In one of William the Lion's northern campaigns he was assisted by the Celtic lord of Galloway, and in another by the Celtic earls of Fife and Atholl.

During these two centuries, while English influence was becoming predominant in Lowland Scotland, political relations between Scotland and England were not always friendly, but there is a marked distinction between the hostilities of this period and subsequent Anglo-Scottish warfare. From the death of Malcolm Canmore to the death of Alexander III, alike when Englishmen fought in Scotland and when Scotsmen fought in England, they did so as the allies of one side or another in a civil conflict. English rebels obtained Scottish aid against their sovereigns; Scottish kings received English help against their rebellious subjects. From the accession of Edgar, with English military support, in 1097, to the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1296, there were, in fact, only three periods of conflict. The most notable of these, and the only military episode remembered by the name of a battle, belongs to the reign of David I. He intervened

in the English civil war between Stephen and the Empress Matilda. Immediately on the death of his brother-in-law, Henry I, David invaded England to assert the claim of his niece. Stephen bribed him with the cession of Carlisle, but in 1138 he again invaded England as a partisan of the Empress. David was no disinterested champion, for he claimed, in the name of his eldest son, the earldom of Northumbria, the heritage of his English queen. In June of that year, while Stephen was harrying Scotland, David won a victory at Clithero, and in August, at Cowton Moor, near Northallerton, he led to defeat his army of Anglo-Normans, Scots, and Galwegians. The victorious English force which won the Battle of the Standard was commanded by Anglo-Norman barons, one of whom, a few years earlier, had been David's ally in suppressing a Celtic rising in Moray. After his defeat, David succeeded in playing off Stephen against Matilda and Matilda against Stephen, and he ultimately secured some concessions in Northumbria. It is not a heroic story, and its importance for our purpose is that David based his intervention, not on any Anglo-Scottish quarrel, but on his relationship to one of the claimants to the English throne and on the rights of his son as the inheritor of an English earldom.

In the next series of hostilities, a Scottish king was also fighting in an English cause, for William the Lion, in his unlucky invasion of 1174, to which we shall refer in another connection, was the ally of the rebellious son, and of the rebellious barons, of Henry II. The only other period of actual fighting was when the young Alexander II aided the English barons in their struggle for the Great Charter. John retaliated by capturing Berwick-on-Tweed, and boasted that he would "hunt the red fox cub from his lair," but this was no mere English invasion of Scotland, for a great, and ultimately victorious, English party was in sympathy with the Scottish king. From 1216 until the outbreak of the War of Independence, a period of eighty years, there were no hostilities between Scotland

and England. These peaceful relations, and the existence of something like a community of feeling between the two countries, aided the victory of the royal policy. Many Scottish magnates, like the Bruces and the Balliols, held territory in both England and Scotland, and, as time went on, the influence of these newcomers increased, and they ceased to be strangers in the land. The royal family continued to intermarry with England. The heir of David I, who predeceased his father, was Earl of Huntingdon, in right of his mother, and he had claims to the Earldom of Northumberland. He married Ada, daughter of William, Earl of Warenne and second Earl of Surrey, and had three sons and some daughters; the latter were the ancestresses of the Claimants to the Crown after the death of Alexander III. The eldest son, Malcolm the Maiden, succeeded his grandfather, David I, in 1153, and died, unmarried, in 1165. The third son, David, succeeded to the Earldom of Huntingdon and lived as an English baron. The second son, William, known, for some obscure reason, as William the Lion, succeeded his brother Malcolm in 1165 and reigned until his death in 1214. He married, late in life, a cousin of Henry II of England and had a son, Alexander II, King of Scots from 1214 to 1249. Alexander's first wife and the mother of his heir, was a sister of Henry III of England. Alexander III (1249-86) married his cousin, a daughter of Henry III, though, like his father, he brought a second bride from France.

During these two centuries there were two serious subjects of dispute between the monarchs of England and Scotland. We have seen that both Canterbury and York claimed jurisdiction over the Scottish Church, and that Alexander I, in spite of his general policy of Anglicization, was adamant in his refusal to admit any such claim. The Papacy declined to grant the request of more than one Scottish king for the creation of a Metropolitan See in Scotland, and when William the Lion, in circumstances about to be described, acknowledged Henry II of England as his

feudal superior, the Treaty of Falaise admitted the subordination of the Scottish to the English Church, but, fortunately, left unsettled the rival claims of Canterbury and York. This rivalry involved an appeal to Rome, and, after a violent dispute between William the Lion and the Papacy over an election to the Bishopric of St. Andrews, the Holy See issued in 1192 (the date has recently been established by Professor Hannay) a Bull declaring the Scottish Church to be the spiritual daughter of the See of Rome, "with mediation of none." In 1225, permission was given to the Scottish clergy to hold an annual Provincial Council, but it was not until 1472 that the Bishop of St. Andrews was given the dignity of a Metropolitan.

The other cause of dispute was an English claim to the Overlordship of Scotland. Entries in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, relating to what its latest editor regarded as temporary alliances between England and Scotland against the Norsemen, were interpreted, after the Norman Conquest, as constituting records of a legal and permanent dependence of Scotland upon England, and inventive chroniclers embroidered the entries of the *Chronicle* until they created the myth of the Great Commendation, when the English monarch Edgar, holding a golden rudder, was rowed upon the River Dee by eight vassal kings. The position was complicated by the circumstance that, from the time of Malcolm Canmore, the kings of Scots possessed lands in England, for which they did homage to the kings of England. William I gave lands to Malcolm, and Malcolm's son, David I, married a great English heiress, who brought to the Scottish Crown actual possession of the Earldom of Huntingdon and claims upon Northumberland. The nature of the homage done for English lands by Scottish kings was not defined; Malcolm IV, for example, became the man of Henry II. "in such fashion as his grandfather had been the man of Henry I," and each king could interpret these words as he wished. But when William the Lion was captured at Alnwick in 1174, while aiding the rebellious

son of Henry II, he was forced to consent to the Treaty of Falaise, by which he became the liegeman of Henry II expressly for Scotland. For fifteen years, Scotland was actually in feudal subjection to England, and the relationship was felt to be, in the words of a contemporary Scottish chronicler, a "grievous yoke of slavery," so grievous that in 1189 the Scots, at a great price, purchased their freedom from Richard I. Richard's bargain with William the Lion freed the Scottish king "from all conventions and compacts which my father King Henry extorted from him by new charters and by his capture, so that he do to me fully and entirely what Malcolm, King of Scots, his brother, did to our predecessors of right and of right ought to have done." The ambiguity of this formula was pleasing to both parties. Richard could claim that Malcolm had done homage for Scotland (though, if this was so, what were the Scots paying money for?) and William did claim that Malcolm "of right ought to have done" homage for Northumberland, denied to him and his successor by the English. During the reigns of Alexander II and Alexander III, the ambiguity of the homage done by the monarchs of Scotland for lands which they held in England persisted, and on the last occasion upon which this homage was done (1278) the evidence about what actually happened is conflicting, and the records of the chroniclers on both sides may well have been manipulated after the great controversy broke out a few years later.

Although the English claim to Overlordship was thus a standing menace, the relations between Scotland and her great neighbour were, therefore, on the whole friendly—during more than two hundred years there were only four periods of hostility, the ravages of Canmore, the invasion of David I, the invasion of William the Lion, and an invasion made by Alexander II in the interests of the English barons in their struggle with King John. Scotland was prosperous, and the descendants of Malcolm Canmore succeeded in consolidating the kingdom. An organized central

government was beginning to exercise authority even in the north and in Galloway, and the territory which had been lost to Norway in the reign of Edgar was recovered. The Norsemen had helped Gaelic resistance to the Anglo-Norman policy of the Kings of Scots, and it was not until the latter had entirely subdued the opposition of their own subjects that they began to make headway against the Norwegians. In the end of his reign, Alexander II asserted his right to the Hebrides, and at his death on the island of Kerrera in Oban Bay in 1249, he was engaged in an expedition against the Norse. His son, Alexander III, reasserted the claim, which was resisted by Haco of Norway and Magnus, King of Man, who brought a great armament to the shores of the Firth of Clyde. A storm wrecked the Norse fleet, and the invaders were defeated at the battle of Largs in 1263. Haco retired to the Orkneys, where he died in the following winter, and Alexander extorted a submission from Magnus and sent an expedition to the Hebrides. In 1266, Eric of Norway ceded the western islands to Scotland for a money payment. Orkney and Shetland remained in the hands of the Northmen until, in 1469, they were given as a pledge for the dowry of Margaret of Denmark on her marriage to James III and became part of the kingdom of Scotland.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE REFORMATION

By the end of the reign of Alexander III, an independent Scottish kingdom had emerged from an amalgamation of Picts, Scots, Angles, Britons and Norse. It was not yet a fully organized and unified community, but rather a series of communities possessing a common and distinctive organization, and gradually coming to recognize a central power and a national law, and its internal history for a hundred years had been not more disturbed than that of England, which had passed through the strain of the Barons' Wars and had seen the monarchy, first under King John and then under Henry III, temporarily rendered impotent by successful rebellions. The authority of the Scottish Crown had survived the minority of Alexander III, partly owing to support given to the boy king by his father-in-law, Henry III of England; but an English party had grown up in Scotland during that period, and the quarrels of the minority were reproduced after the King's death in 1286 at the early age of forty-one. Alexander's English queen had died in 1275, his younger son, David, a boy of eight, in 1281, and, two years later, his elder son at the age of nineteen. About the same time he lost his only daughter, Margaret, the wife of Eric of Norway. She left a baby girl of her own name who, in 1284, was acknowledged as heir-presumptive to her grandfather. In October 1285, Alexander married a second wife; in March 1286, he was killed by a fall from his horse near Kinghorn in Fife.

If there had been any adult male of the Royal house closely related to the late king, the claims of an infant

girl, foreign by birth, would almost certainly have been ignored, but Alexander III left neither nephew nor cousin of legitimate blood. So the succession of the Maid of Norway was accepted, though not without opposition, and Guardians of the Kingdom were appointed. They welcomed the support of Edward I of England, who made no assertion of the rights of an Overlord but negotiated for a marriage between the little queen and his son and heir, afterwards Edward II. After prolonged deliberations, and the receipt of a Papal Bull dispensing with the objection of consanguinity—the children were cousins—a Treaty entirely satisfactory to Scotland was made at Birgham-on-Tweed in 1290. Some three months later, the Maid of Norway died on her way to Scotland, at the age of seven. The country was faced by a disputed succession. The nearest heirs were descendants of David I, who had been dead for nearly 140 years. David's grandson, David, Earl of Huntingdon, younger brother of William the Lion, had three daughters who married into the Anglo-Norman nobility of Scotland. The grandson of the eldest was John Balliol, the son of the second was Robert Bruce. The latter was a man of seventy-six, and about fifty years earlier he had been acknowledged as heir-presumptive before the birth of Alexander III. Balliol, belonging to a younger generation, was about fifty. By later rules of strict primogeniture, the grandson of an elder daughter has a prior claim to that of the son of a younger daughter, but these rules had not yet been established. The Bruces had been the leaders of the English party during the minority of Alexander III, and had long been the rivals of the Balliols and their relatives, the Comyns. Robert Bruce had taken up arms against the Maid of Norway, and had been disappointed in his expectation of English support. After her death, he relied upon the assistance of the English king, his old comrade-in-arms, and he was ready to accept such terms as Edward might impose, even to the extent of an admission of the Overlordship.

Edward was too wise—from his own point of view—to make a bargain of this kind with any of the Competitors for the Scottish throne. The Balliols and the Comyns would have raised the standard of independence, and organized a patriotic party. The English king was determined to secure an admission of his supremacy from all the Competitors and their supporters. He began by ordering an investigation into the historical evidence for the English claims and received what he wanted, and in May 1291 he announced his intention of asserting his just right to be Lord Paramount of Scotland. A year later, he summoned a conference to meet at Norham-on-Tweed, on the English side of the river. The Scots were given for their deliberations a period of three weeks, during which an English army was marching northwards. On June 3, at a meeting on the Scottish side, opposite the English force ranged under the walls of Norham Castle, the Competitors and the Anglo-Norman nobility admitted Edward's claim, but a protest was made on behalf of the "community of the realm of Scotland." Deserted by their leaders, the commons were not yet ready for resistance, and the possibilities involved in a popular rising were still undreamed of.

The Lord Paramount's first duty was to choose between the claimants, or to decide that the kingdom had lapsed to the Overlord in default of heirs, a threat intended to secure the new-born allegiance of the Scottish nobility. With the regard for legal claims which characterized him, he ordered an elaborate investigation, and on November 17, 1292, at Berwick, he announced his decision in favour of John Balliol. For four years, Balliol ruled as a vassal king. Edward's treatment of him suggests that he aimed at driving him into rebellion in order to justify an annexation of Scotland, for he spared no pains to render his position ignominious. On the other hand, if this was his object, he chose an unfortunate time for a Scottish war; he had a French war and a Welsh rebellion to deal with, and his over-taxation was rousing opposition

among clergy and people in England. In the end of 1295, Balliol, sacrificing his English lands, renounced his allegiance. The accursed rivalry of the Bruces and the Balliols deprived King John's resistance of any chance of success. Robert Bruce, the Competitor, had died, but his son, Robert, the father of the future king, was holding the castle of Carlisle for the English.

Edward I led an army to Scotland in person, took the town of Berwick, and was guilty of a merciless massacre of the citizens, the first act of war after nearly a century of peace, and the prelude to a long and ferocious conflict. There was little resistance, and in the summer of 1296, Edward made a triumphal march through Scotland, and returned home in the early autumn, leaving Scotland under a military occupation. Within a year, a popular rising under Sir William Wallace regained the independence of Scotland by the battle of Stirling Bridge (September 10, 1297); his army included Celts from Galloway, Highlanders from Moray and Badenoch, and Scots from north of the Forth. His success was the result of his own military skill and his power of leadership, working upon a widespread popular devotion to Scottish independence. For a brief period Wallace governed Scotland as Guardian for John Balliol, but in 1298, deserted by some of the nobles who had supported him, he was defeated by Edward at Falkirk and he resigned his Guardianship. But the desire for independence which was strong enough to place an army under his command was strong enough to continue resistance, and it was not until 1305 that Edward could again regard Scotland as a conquered country. In that year, Wallace was captured—betrayed, according to tradition—and Edward took a cruel revenge upon the man who, in the words of John Richard Green, will live in history as "the first to assert freedom as a national birthright": the noblest and the purest of his country's heroes.

Edward proceeded to undertake the task of devising a permanent administrative system for the government

of Scotland as a province of England, but the interval between hostilities was very short. Robert Bruce, grandson of the original Competitor, was crowned King of Scots at Scone in March 1306. A month earlier he had slain John Comyn, the Red Comyn, who had been accepted as the representative of the Balliol claim. The two rivals, who some years before had been at each other's throats in the Council of Guardians, arranged a meeting which can scarcely have had any other purpose than an adjustment of their claims as a prelude to further resistance. The murder was certainly unpremeditated, for Bruce had made no preparations for a leadership to which his rash deed inevitably committed him; Edward I could not mistake the significance of the meeting and its result. He had also incurred the guilt of sacrilege, for the meeting took place, and Comyn was killed, in the church of the Minorite Friars at Dumfries, and the excommunication that must (and did) follow might well have deprived Bruce of the support of the clergy, who had been staunch upholders of the cause of independence. The responsibility thus thrust upon Robert Bruce by his own act changed him from a self-seeking baron into a great national leader, but the murder had unhappy consequences for generations to come. Meanwhile, it had gravely imperilled the chances of a successful assertion of the independence of Scotland. Until that March day in 1306, Scottish nobles had changed sides as necessity or interest dictated, and there was no party in Scotland which was bound to the English cause by firmer ties than the oaths which were lightly taken and broken by bishop and baron alike. The murder of Comyn made the Balliols and the Comyns and all their adherents, noble and simple, devoted champions of the English king, for there was a blood feud between them and the man-slayer upon whom rested the hopes of his country's freedom.

If a popular determination that Scotland should be a free country was shown when the Scots placed themselves under the command of a simple country

gentleman in 1296, it was shown even more clearly when, in the hour of national humiliation, they gathered round the standard of Robert Bruce, ten years later. Their resolve was subjected to a stern test, for everything that the most timid patriot of 1306 could have feared happened at once. The hurried coronation of King Robert at Scone in March was followed in June by his defeat at Methven, near Perth. For a year he was a hunted and excommunicated fugitive; his supporters, including some of his brothers, were captured and hanged, and quartered as traitors to King Edward; his wife and daughters were prisoners. Barbour tells that the confidence of the people in their new leader was shaken and that they began to submit to the English, but he adds that a little experience of "thraldome" led them to yearn for good news of the Bruce.

In the spring of 1307, King Robert made another effort, and after some initial misfortunes, he won a victory at Loudoun Hill in Ayrshire, in May. This was the turning-point in his career, and fortune favoured him by removing the man whose ambition was the cause of centuries of bloodshed. Edward I died at Burgh-on-Sands, near Carlisle, on July 7, and his death left the English party in Scotland without support and without any definite plan of campaign. Edward II did a little ravaging, and left Scotland in August. King Robert was thus free to deal with his Scottish enemies in detail. Within three years he accomplished his task, and in February 1310, the Scottish clergy, meeting at Dundee, took a solemn oath of fealty to their excommunicated monarch. The appeals of the partisans of England induced Edward II to invade Scotland in September, but he achieved nothing beyond devastating the country south of Forth and Clyde. By the year 1311, the character of the warfare had changed. Robert was no longer engaged in fighting his Scottish enemies, most of whom had sought refuge in England. He was able to invade Northumberland and to expel English garrisons from

Scottish strongholds. In the summer of 1313, his brother Edward made with the English governor of Stirling Castle a chivalrous and foolish bargain that the castle should be surrendered if it was not relieved within a year. This was a reversal of Robert's military policy, for it forced him to stake his fortunes, and the fortunes of Scotland, upon the issue of one great battle, in which the English were bound to enjoy a superiority of numbers. But fortune was again kind, and on the field of Bannockburn (June 24, 1314) King Robert proved himself a great soldier. The independence of Scotland was secured, and in the years which intervened between the victory and the recognition of its results by the regents for Edward III, the Scots engaged in offensive warfare both in the north of England and in Ireland. The Papacy acknowledged King Robert in 1323, and in the same year Edward II was compelled to seek a truce. It came to an end with Edward's deposition and murder, and when the English regents proposed to renew it without an acknowledgment of independence, Robert replied by sending his two great captains, Randolph and Douglas, to ravage the northern counties; the future victor of Crecy had his first experience of warfare in an inglorious campaign in which he barely escaped capture. In February 1328, Edward III issued Letters Patent acknowledging Scottish independence and annulling the claim to Superiority, and in March the Treaty of Northampton, made between two independent sovereigns, arranged for the marriage of King Robert's heir, David, to the sister of the young English king.

There is an inglorious epilogue to the story. King Robert died in 1329, and the freedom of Scotland was again in jeopardy during the reign of a boy who grew up to be a worthless man. The iron will of Edward I had made the subjection of Scotland a cardinal point for the honour of England and had given his young and ambitious grandson a precedent which he might well consider it ignoble to disregard; the ignominy of the reign of Edward II demanded a revival of English

military glory. Further, there were partisans of the English cause, exiled from Scotland and dispossessed of their heritages, and the honour of England was concerned in the restoration of the "Disinherited." A few of them had been protected by the Treaty of Northampton, but the menace from England after Edward III began to rule in person led the Scottish regents for the young David II to hesitate to comply with the terms of the Treaty, and the English had a pretext for disowning it. It was only a pretext, and the presence of Edward Balliol, the heir of John Balliol, at the English Court gave the Scots an equally good excuse for not carrying out the provision about the restoration of the Disinherited.

The new phase of the struggle began with an invasion by Edward Balliol. The help given him by England was at first unavowed, but, after a Scottish defeat at Dupplin Moor, near Perth, in August 1332, Balliol was crowned at Scone as the acknowledged vassal of Edward III of England. He was almost immediately driven out of Scotland, but the intervention of the English king and his victory at Halidon Hill, outside Berwick, in July 1333, brought about a temporary restoration. Edward Balliol, surrounded by the Disinherited, held a Parliament in Edinburgh, and among his Lords Spiritual was the bishop who had blessed the Scottish lines at Bannockburn. The young David II was sent to France for safety. In accepting Balliol as a vassal king, Edward III had abandoned his grandfather's last policy of complete annexation, but the abandonment was only partial, for in 1334, Balliol ceded to his liege lord the counties of Edinburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Peebles, Roxburgh, Berwick and Dumfries. English officials began again to administer the land between Tweed and Forth.

The worst seemed to have happened, but the Disinherited began to quarrel about the restoration of their lands, new Scottish leaders arose, and the interests and ambitions of Edward III were transferred from Scotland to France. Scottish forces gained some minor

successes, and when Edward III invaded the country in person, as he did in 1335-6, in 1337, and in 1341, he was never given the chance of fighting a pitched battle. By 1341, Perth, Stirling and Edinburgh were again in Scottish keeping, and it was deemed safe to bring home David II, then a boy of seventeen.

The struggles of these years left their mark upon the history of Scotland. Although the tract of country ceded by Edward Balliol was largely recovered within a brief period, revivals of hostilities were inevitable, and it took nearly 130 years to expel the English from the south of Scotland. The powerful Lord of the Isles had made terms with Balliol and had been granted a large territory, part of which belonged to Robert the Steward, grandson of Robert I through his daughter, Marjory Bruce, and heir-presumptive to the young king. David II at once cancelled these grants and forfeited some of the original possessions of the Lord of the Isles. The grievance thus created led to frequent intrigues between successive Lords of the Isles and the English. Further, it was during these years that the Franco-Scottish alliance came to be a factor of some importance in European politics. The French had given some encouragement to the Scots at the beginning of the War of Independence, but in 1308 they had made terms with the English and had negotiated the unhappy marriage which ultimately cost Edward II his life and gave his son the claim to the French throne which was the pretext for a century of warfare. The help given to the Scots in the early years of David II, and the English attack upon the French, after 1337, gave Scotland and France a bond of union and a common interest. While the English held French and Scottish soil, a Franco-Scottish Alliance was inevitable. On many occasions, the English tried to detach the Scots from the French, but it is difficult to blame Scottish statesmen for retaining a conviction that, if France were defeated, Scotland could not long remain safe.

The first of these attempts to sever the Franco-

Scottish Alliance occurred when Edward III was preparing for the campaign of Créçy. The Scots were offered the restoration of all Scottish land held by the English, in return for neutrality. They declined the offer, invaded England, and were defeated at Neville's Cross near Durham in October 1346, where David II was captured. As a result of the battle, the English reoccupied part of the Scottish territory which they had lost, and, a few years later, they again offered to restore the land and to release the King of Scots, on condition of the payment of a ransom and a desertion of the French. The offer was again refused, and in 1357, during a truce between England and France, an exorbitant ransom (part of which was never paid) was extorted for the person of David II. The country was impoverished by the early payments to England, and David, who had been well treated during his years of captivity, paid a visit to London in 1363, and agreed to a treaty of perpetual peace with England and to the recognition of an English prince as the heir to the throne of Scotland. He himself was childless, and he was the enemy of his nephew, Robert the Steward, upon whom the succession had been settled before the death of his grandfather, Robert I. The Scottish Estates indignantly refused to sanction such a bargain, and the nation patiently continued its task of recovering territory held by the "auld enemy." When the Anglo-French war was renewed after the abortive Treaty of Bretigny, the Franco-Scottish Alliance was also renewed, and warfare, interrupted by truces, not always faithfully kept, went on with varying results.

On David's death in 1371, the first of the House of Stewart ascended the throne as Robert II, and reigned until his death in 1390. His son, and successor, repudiating his own unlucky name of John, was known as Robert III. He was a feeble old man, and it was fortunate that there was a period of comparative peace until the deposition and murder of Richard II in 1399. The murder shocked the Scots, who themselves had not murdered a monarch for 300 years (their record was

not so good in the following century), while the English had murdered two kings within seventy years. They hesitated about recognizing Henry IV, who retaliated by an unusually mild invasion; there was a border warfare between Douglas and Percy; and in 1402 a large Scottish force was defeated at Homildon Hill, the last Anglo-Scottish battle of importance before the disaster of Flodden, one hundred and eleven years later.

The great misfortune of the reign of Robert III—"the worst of kings and the most unhappy of men" he is said to have called himself—was a quarrel between his eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, and the Duke of Albany, the king's younger brother. The jealousy between nephew and uncle hampered Scottish efforts for the recovery of the South, and when Rothesay died in mysterious circumstances, in 1402, Albany was generally regarded as his murderer. Alarmed for the safety of his younger son, Prince James, the old king sent him to France in the spring of 1406, but he was captured at sea by the English, and his father died broken hearted. Albany was Regent until his death in 1420, and he made some progress in recovering the land still in possession of the English. It was Albany, and his son, Murdoch, his successor in the title and the regency, who brought the Franco-Scottish Alliance to its climax by sending Scottish troops to aid the French against Henry V. John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, a son of the elder Albany, with his Scottish soldiers, won the victory of Baugé in 1421, the first hope of a reversal of the verdict of Agincourt. Buchan was made Constable of France, and he had some further successes in the war until he was killed, in 1424, at Verneuil, where he and Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, who fell with him, held the centre of the French position with persistent courage. The English Government had no ground for complaint, for during Albany's regency there were several intrigues between England and discontented Scottish barons. The most important of these led to the long misunderstood battle of Harlaw

(1411), frequently caricatured as the final conflict between Celt and Saxon in Scotland. Donald, Lord of the Isles, a grandson of Robert II, had a claim to the Lowland earldom of Mar, and when his claim was denied by Albany, he made a treaty of "peace, allegiance and amity" with Henry IV and led an army of Islesmen to the mainland. He was opposed by the Mackays and the Frasers, but made his way to the neighbourhood of Aberdeen in hope of plundering the city. His defeat at Harlaw put an end to an English intrigue with a Scottish rebel, for Donald had to make terms with the Regent in 1412.

James I was ransomed and released in 1424, and he returned to Scotland determined to introduce law and order—in his own words "to make the key keep the castle and the bracken bush the cow." He adopted a policy of merciless repression, and at once put to death the Regent, the younger Albany, and two of his sons, imprisoned the Lord of the Isles, and confiscated the estates of some Lowland magnates. He kept peace with England at home, but encouraged his subjects to aid the French, and Scottish troops followed the Maid of France, helped to drive off the English from Orleans, shared in her victory at Pathay in 1429, marched into Rheims for the coronation of Charles VII, and were present at her last triumph at Lagny. The regents for Henry VI tried again to detach Scotland from France in 1430. By that date most of the south of Scotland had been recovered, but the English still held Roxburgh Castle and the coveted town of Berwick. James declined an offer of perpetual peace with England, and married his daughter to the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XI), and Charles VII instituted the famous corps of Scots Guards in France as a recognition of the services of Scottish soldiers in the war. Just before his murder at Perth in 1437, James I put an end to a series of truces with England and made an effort to recover Roxburgh Castle.

The first James had lost his life in a desperate attempt to assert the authority of the Crown over the Scottish

barons. The distribution of the lands of the Disinherited had laid the foundation of the greatness of some families, among which the House of Douglas was the most notable, and almost a century of the reigns of weak or absent sovereigns had made the great barons petty monarchs in their own domains. In the minority of James II, a grave blow was dealt at the Douglasses by the regents, who murdered the young (sixth) earl and his brother, and thus brought about a division of the vast Douglas estates. But William, the eighth earl, married the heiress of such Douglas lands as he did not himself inherit, and the Douglas power seemed to be as great as ever when the young king began to govern in person. During the absence of the earl on a pilgrimage to Rome, James invaded his territories and destroyed one of his strongholds. On his return, Douglas organized a powerful league against the monarchy, and James invited him to an interview at Stirling Castle and gave him a safe conduct. The circumstances of the death of the Red Comyn were reproduced, for there was a quarrel, and James stabbed Douglas with fatal results; the Scottish Parliament took the view that the earl "was guilty of his own death by resisting the king's gentle persuasions." The ninth (and last) earl took the precaution of keeping the Douglas lands undivided by a marriage with his brother's widow, and he raised a rebellion. At Arkinholm (Langholm), in 1455, James crushed the Douglasses and their allies, and thereby made the central power stronger than it had been since the days of Alexander III.

The last enterprize of the short life of James II was the siege of the castle of Roxburgh, the last English possession in Scotland except the town of Berwick. In August, 1460, as the king was watching the effect of a piece of artillery, the gun exploded, and he was killed, at the age of thirty. The castle was taken a few days after his death, and its fall marks the end of the War of Independence, for no English garrison, except that of Berwick, was left on Scottish soil. It also marks

the end of the period during which the Franco-Scottish Alliance was a necessity for either country. The English had been expelled from France as well as from Scotland, and the kingdom of France was about to become, once again, a great European power. While both countries were struggling for freedom from a common invader, their interests were similar and their methods of co-operation were simple, but when France developed into a great and aggressive Power, with many interests of which the small Scottish nation could know nothing, the Alliance could be maintained only if Scotland were to become completely dependent upon France. The long tradition of the Alliance persisted for exactly a century after 1460, led the Scots into one unhappy adventure, and afforded them protection at more than one period of danger, but its real significance belongs to the years between the death of Robert I in 1329 and the death of James II in 1460, when it played an important part in securing the freedom of both countries.

The influence of France during the later Middle Ages profoundly affected the development of Scottish civilization. Up to the War of Independence, Scotland had derived its legal and administrative systems from England, as also its manners and customs, and its architecture. Except for literature, the influence of England, after the War of Independence, was replaced by that of France. The record of Scottish progress during the War of Independence, if we regard it as covering the whole period from 1296 to 1460, is very remarkable. The country was able to wage almost continuous warfare, to pay (in part) heavy ransoms, to build, or rebuild, great religious houses, cathedrals and other churches, royal palaces, and baronial and episcopal castles. Learning was advanced by the foundation of two universities—St. Andrews in 1411 and Glasgow in 1451, and by the end of the fifteenth century, a third, Aberdeen, was added to the number (1495). Trade and commerce were maintained and the towns began to recover a modest prosperity. The

reign of James III, which immediately followed the fall of the House of Douglas and the recovery of Southern Scotland, was troubled and unhappy, but neither Scottish independence nor the Stewart dynasty was in danger. The years of the minority were unusually fortunate, partly because England was absorbed in the Wars of the Roses, and partly because, for five years after the death of James III, the Regent was one of the few great statesmen whom Scotland produced in the Middle Ages—James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, and the founder of St. Salvador's College in that university. Help given by the Scots to the Lancastrians led to a temporary recovery of Berwick, which was again a Scottish town from 1461 to 1482, but when the House of York was settled on the English throne, Kennedy became convinced of the wisdom of acknowledging an accomplished fact, and in October 1463 a truce between Louis XI and Edward IV afforded an easy opportunity of abandoning the Red Rose, and the Scots took no part in the brief Lancastrian restoration of 1470-71. The later years of the minority were more disturbed, but James began his active reign in 1469 with fair prospects, and in 1476 he was able to put an end to an attempt of the Lord of the Isles to play at being an independent sovereign. Four years earlier, Orkney and Shetland had been declared by the Scottish Parliament to be annexed to the Crown of Scotland, in default of payment of the dowry of James's queen, Margaret of Denmark.

The troubles of the reign were connected with the personality of James III and with the disloyalty of his brother, Alexander, Duke of Albany. James "was one that loved solitariness, and desired never to hear of wars nor the fame thereof, but delighted mair in music and policy of building than in the government of his realm." He made friends with musicians and architects, and quarrelled with his brothers, Albany and Mar. The latter died in prison and the former escaped to France in 1479, made a bargain with Edward IV of England, and invaded Scotland to claim

the Crown as a vassal king. In the course of this invasion the Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III) recovered Berwick-on-Tweed, in the summer of 1482, and it was while James was preparing to meet Albany that the Scottish nobles seized and hanged the royal favourites on Lauder Bridge. Albany spent some stormy months in Scotland, and two years later he was entrusted with a small force by Richard III, and made a second invasion with the double object of securing the Crown and restoring the last Earl of Douglas, who had been an exile in England. The attempt failed, Albany again escaped to France, and Douglas was captured and died a prisoner. The king's unpopularity did not diminish, and he was slain in the course of another rebellion in the summer of 1488. His enemies professed loyalty to the House of Stewart, and asserted that they were merely trying to restrain a misguided monarch, and they brought his son and heir into their camp as evidence of their good intentions. The circumstance that, after their victory, they thought it necessary to obtain parliamentary approval of their conduct and to explain to the people of Scotland and to foreign nations that they had not been guilty of rebellion, indicates an increase in the prestige of the monarchy and of the dynasty, since the murder of James I half a century earlier.

The authority of the Crown still further increased in the reign of James IV (1488-1513), the Golden Age of Scotland after the War of Independence. James made the central power a reality even in the Highlands and Islands, and deprived the Lord of the Isles of that title, which was annexed to the Crown. He encouraged trade and commerce, and the report of a Spanish agent emphasizes the prosperity of the country in his time; the foreigner was impressed by the Edinburgh houses and their furniture and by the abundance of food (chiefly fish and mutton). Towards the end of his reign, James created a powerful Scottish navy. He played a considerable part in European politics, and his ambition rose so high as to propose a marriage with

a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. In his early years he adopted the cause of the pretender, Perkin Warbeck, and invaded England, but he ultimately married Margaret, elder daughter of Henry VII. The marriage treaty involved an English recognition (the first since 1328) of the independence of the Scottish Crown, and it brought about, a century later, the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland.

A marriage of a Scottish king to an English princess was not in itself a guarantee of peace, but the "Union of the Thistle and the Rose" was felt to be an event of considerable significance. A people generally clings persistently to a traditional foreign policy, and no one could doubt that the French Alliance had been, in the past, of crucial importance for the independence of Scotland. Was it still of such importance? When Henry VIII began to prepare for war with France, he wished, as his predecessors had wished, to obtain an assurance of Scottish neutrality. He and his brother-in-law had many causes of dispute. There were troubles in the Borders; English and Scottish sailors were in the habit of fighting at sea without much regard to diplomatic agreements; and Henry had failed to pay to his sister, Queen Margaret, a legacy left her by her father. On all these points, Henry was willing to give way, but James, remembering the past, was convinced that if France were conquered, Scotland would immediately be attacked. It is easy for us to realize that France was in no such danger as he imagined; within a very brief period, Henry's sister was to marry the French king. But the European combination against France was formidable enough, and it is scarcely fair to blame James for going to war. The really remarkable thing is that there were Scottish statesmen who had begun to doubt whether it must always be in the interests of Scotland to ally with France against England, and that these opponents of the royal policy included the greatest Scotsman then living, William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Founder of its University, who himself owed much

to France and had many friends among distinguished Frenchmen. It was a dispute between the older and the younger advisers of James IV; the voice of the young men was for war, and James listened to the words of the young men. In May, 1513 a French ambassador brought from the French queen the famous message to her knight and a turquoise ring which was to be found on James's dead hand. Attempts, described in *Marmion*, were made to work upon his superstitious nature, but without avail, and on August 22 he led a great Scottish army to defeat. James fell on Flodden Field on September 9; in the words of a contemporary, "God gave the stroke, and he was no more regarded than a poor soldier, for all went one way." For Scotland, it was indeed the stroke of Fate, but the valour displayed upon the stricken field saved the country from the extremity of disaster. Edinburgh prepared for a siege and ordered the townsmen to have their arms ready, and the women to cease weeping and wailing in the streets and to go to the churches to pray. But the victorious army was in no condition to undertake a siege. Flodden was, in one sense, the greatest of many Scottish defeats, and its dead were mourned for many a day. It deeply affected the internal history of the country, but its importance in international affairs is slight; it is not more than a footnote to history; the war dragged on until May 1515, but nothing happened more serious than border raids. The doubts entertained before Flodden as to whether it must necessarily be in the interests of Scotland to fight for France against England survived the battle and the defeat. They were expressed in the *History of Greater Britain*, published in Paris in 1521 by the great Schoolman, John Major, a Scotsman who owed much to France. "The Scots," he wrote, "ought to prefer no king to the English king in the marriage of an heiress (of the Crown), and I am of the same opinion as to the English in a similar case. In this way alone would two hostile kingdoms, flourishing in the same island, of which neither can subdue the

other, be united under one king," and he went on to expound the advantages of union. Major's view cannot have been generally held, but it indicates a new stage in Anglo-Scottish relations.

The death of James IV, at the age of forty, was the prelude to a disturbed minority. James V was a year old at the date of his accession, and his mother was a sister of Henry VIII. Less than a year after her husband's death, Queen Margaret married the Earl of Angus, the head of the Red Douglasses, who had risen on the ruin of the elder branch of the House, and the inheritor of a tradition of treacherous intrigue with England. The Scots had already taken steps to meet the danger of English influence over the Queen-Mother. Her husband had nominated her as regent, but Louis XII, immediately after Flodden, offered to send to Scotland the Duke of Albany, a son of the traitor Duke of the reign of James III. The offer was accepted, but, until she married Angus, Margaret was entrusted with the care of her son; after that event, she and her husband had to flee to England, where she bore to Angus a daughter who was brought up in England, married the Earl of Lennox, a Scottish traitor of the next minority, and became the mother of the unfortunate Darnley.

After a short interval, Margaret and Angus returned to Scotland, where the stage seemed to be set for a struggle between a French party under Albany and an English party under Margaret and Angus. Albany was an unsatisfactory Regent; he spoke only French, was often absent from the country, and was believed to take little interest in its welfare. It might have been a great opportunity for Henry VIII, but Margaret was his very sister; she quarrelled with Angus, spent years in obtaining an annulment of the marriage, and, except when poverty compelled her to beg from her brother, was the persistent enemy of her husband, and, consequently, of the English cause. Albany finally left Scotland in 1524, and Angus came into power in 1526, the year in which he ceased to be husband of the

Queen-Mother. The severance of their marriage did not diminish her hatred, and in 1528, James V, still a boy of fifteen, undertook the government and banished Angus, forfeiting his estates. The young king thus began his rule by offending a powerful section of the nobility, and the measures which he took to establish law and order in the course of his short reign made for him many more enemies among his nobles. Alienated from the nobility, he relied upon the support of the bishops, whom he employed in great offices usually held by laymen.

The clerical policy of James V, and contemporary events in England, brought fresh elements into Scottish politics. Henry VIII broke with the Pope and enriched himself and many of his subjects with the spoils of the monasteries. Isolated in Europe, he urged his nephew to follow his example. The nobles liked the English precedent, and the clergy became enthusiastic advocates of the French Alliance. James declined the hand of his cousin, Mary Tudor—it was one of the many paradoxes of the time that a marriage with her was offered as an inducement to defy the Papacy—and he married a daughter of Francis I. She died almost immediately and James's second wife was Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville. Relations with England became more and more strained, until Henry VIII began to invite his nephew to personal meetings on English soil, his object being to kidnap him. James, who had been kidnapped in his youth and may have suspected his uncle's benevolent designs, refused to go to discuss the possibility of suppressing the monasteries. Their revenues were large, and might well have been a temptation, for though the Kings of Scots possessed wide tracts of land, they were far from rich. They depended upon Crown lands, feudal dues, and customs, and there was no regular system of taxation. An attempt to introduce the English device of subsidies had been a motive for the murder of James I, and the debasement of the coinage had been one of the grievances against James III. Henry

despised a relative who was blind to the Providence which put money within his grasp, and he lost patience, broke off friendly relations, and sent an army to invade Scotland.

The first effect of the Reformation movement was thus to render the Scottish Government more dependent than ever upon the French Alliance. But when James proposed to make a counter-invasion of England, he found that his nobles declined to support him in what they called a French war. Their opposition does not find an adequate explanation either in personal resentment or in jealousy of the influence exercised over the king by Cardinal Beaton and the clergy, and by an unpopular favourite, Oliver Sinclair. The dissolution of the English monasteries, and James's defence of the Scottish religious orders, were probably the most potent causes of the alienation of the nobles from the sovereign. Reformed doctrine had by this date made some headway in Scotland, but the Scottish nobles of 1542 were not devout Protestants; their eyes were fixed on the spoils of the Church. Ignorant of Henry's real intentions, they blamed James for not going to York to meet his uncle, and left him to depend upon the troops with which Beaton and the ecclesiastical party were able to furnish him. James led an army to the borders, but he was in bad health and did not accompany it to the field. The small Scottish force was enclosed between the river Esk and the Solway moor, and was completely routed (November 24, 1542). James returned to Falkland, where he died on December 14, at the age of thirty. Six days earlier, his daughter Mary had been born at Linlithgow. "It came wi' a lass and it will gang wi' a lass," said the dying king, remembering how the Crown had come to his unhappy House. The prophecy was not fulfilled, and Fate continued to be merciless to the Stewarts.

The disastrous results of the king's French policy, the gradual spread of Reformed doctrine, and the temptation to seize church lands gave a great, and misused, opportunity for English diplomacy. A will of James V,

appointing Cardinal Beaton as one of the regents, was declared to be forged, and the regency was conferred upon the Earl of Arran, as heir-presumptive to the baby queen. Arran was known to incline to Protestantism, and he was a greedy noble eager to improve the fortunes of his family. Under Arran's influence, Parliament passed an act legalizing the circulation of the scriptures "in the vulgar tongue," and agreed to a treaty for the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Prince of Wales (1543). But Henry VIII behaved with foolish insolence, demanded the surrender of the queen's person at the age of ten and her education until that period under English influence, and threatened violence. Arran, who had good personal reasons for distrusting Henry, recanted his Protestant opinions and was reconciled with Beaton, and an encounter between English and Scottish ships at sea afforded an excuse for the denunciation of the marriage treaty in 1544.

Even yet, if Henry had been patient, he might have won in the end. Arran and Beaton were not likely to continue to be friendly, the inducement to dissolve the monasteries during a minority of the Crown remained very powerful, the spread of the Reformation was creating a new link with England, and the young queen, even if she was brought up in the old doctrines, would have witnessed the effect of the new doctrines upon her people. But Henry at once made the breach complete and for that generation irrevocable, and he incidentally determined Mary's fate by securing that she should grow up a Frenchwoman. He sent the Earl of Hertford (afterwards Protector Somerset) to Scotland with instructions to put man, woman, and child to fire and sword, without exception, wherever he met with any resistance. His orders were obeyed, and English armies ravaged Scotland in 1544 and 1545. The French Alliance again became essential for the safety of the country, and when, in 1546, a body of Scottish Protestants murdered Cardinal Beaton in revenge for the martyrdom of George Wishart, and seized his castle at St. Andrews, they held it with English help until it

was retaken for the Scottish Government, in July 1547, by a force largely composed of French troops.

Henry VIII had died in the preceding January, but Somerset, against his own better judgment, carried on the policy of his master, and employed force in an attempt to sever the Franco-Scottish League. In this aim he completely failed, though he won some military reputation by his victory at Pinkie in September 1547, the last of the old battles between England and Scotland. An appeal to the Scots for a union with England, made after the battle, was naturally rejected, and Arran arranged a marriage between the child-queen and the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II, and in August 1548 sent her to France, where she remained for thirteen years. Meanwhile French troops helped the Scots to recover strongholds occupied by English garrisons until, in 1550, Scotland was included in a peace between France and England. The French had saved Scotland from a grave danger, and the Auld Alliance seemed to be cemented more firmly than ever. But Scotland now needed France so much more than France needed Scotland, that there could be no real alliance; the small country must be dependent upon the great one. Further, the cartloads of Bibles which the English invaders are recorded to have brought with them gave a fresh impetus to Scottish Protestantism, and the traditional unpopularity of French troops in Scotland was increased by the German mercenaries whom they brought with them.

In July 1553, Mary Tudor succeeded to the English throne, and in April 1554, the Queen-Mother, Mary of Guise, became regent for her daughter. If these two ladies, both devout Roman Catholics, could have made an Anglo-Scottish alliance, the current of history might have been changed, but Mary of England was a Spaniard and the enemy of France. The persecution in England created a fresh bond of sympathy between English and Scottish Protestants, and made the latter determined to bring about a religious revolution while the Scottish queen was still in France. The Queen-

Mother was surrounded by French advisers, and a Frenchman shared the Chancellorship with the Earl of Huntly. It was useless for the Parliament to legislate against slanderers of the Regent and of the allies who had come "for the common weal and suppressing the auld enemies." There were popular outbreaks against the French garrisons, and the nobles forced Mary of Guise to disband a French army assembled for an invasion of England. The marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin in April 1558, rather injured than helped the French cause. The Crown Matrimonial—a French conception—was conferred upon Francis, and there was a suspicion, now known to have been well-founded, that Mary had been induced to sign agreements which might have been fatal to Scottish independence. The Protestant party in Scotland found "Scotland a province of France," a potent argument against the Regent.

By 1557, the Scottish Protestants had grown so strong that they formed themselves into a militant league, known as the Congregation, and drew up the first National Covenant for the establishment of the Reformed Faith. There were isolated attacks upon church buildings in 1558, but hostilities did not begin until the following year. By that time, Elizabeth was on the English throne, and Francis and Mary, who became king and queen of France in the summer of 1559, had antagonized her by putting forward Mary's claim to the English Crown as the senior legitimate representative of the line of Henry VII. The Protestants could therefore look to England for help, and in 1559 they secured a great leader by the return of John Knox to Scotland. Mary of Guise chose this moment for denouncing the Protestant leaders as heretics, and they took up arms against her. Assured of English help, they declared that she was deposed from the regency, and published a Latin manifesto asserting that the main ground of their action was "the insolence and intolerable oppression" of the French. But religion was by that date the real point at issue, and religious

zeal had so far overcome the ancient enmity to England that the Protestants invited Elizabeth to "accept the realm of Scotland into her protection and maintenance only for preservation of them in their old freedoms and liberties, and from conquest, during the time the marriage shall continue between the Queen of Scots and the French King." They were even prepared to bring about a union at once by the recognition of the heir-presumptive, the Earl of Arran, as King of Scots on condition that Elizabeth should marry him.

Elizabeth knew that rebels make better allies than subjects and she had no intention of marrying Arran and inciting English Roman Catholics to rebellion by an attempt to seize her cousin's throne, but she gave military assistance to the Congregation until the death of Mary of Guise in June 1560 led to a truce. Her death deprived the Crown of any real authority in Scotland and placed political power in the hands of the organized body of Protestants which was in arms against her. The Lords of the Congregation saw their opportunity and determined to obtain Parliamentary sanction for the Reformed Faith and for a proscription of the Roman Church. Up to this date, the Scottish Parliament had very rarely exercised any decisive, or even influential, voice in the determination of national policy; it existed, normally, to ratify what had been done by the sovereign or by those who enjoyed the power of the sovereign. The Parliament of 1560 was probably illegally summoned and illegally constituted, and its legislation never received the sanction of the Crown. But it was representative of a large and insistent body of public opinion, and its acts became the effective law of the land. It abolished the authority of the Pope, forbade, under an ultimate penalty of death for a third offence, the celebration of Mass, and recognized Protestantism as the only legal form of belief. A Confession of Faith drawn up by John Knox and his colleagues was ratified by Parliament, but the problems of the organization of the Church and of the destination of ecclesiastical property, much of which

had been already secularized, were left for future settlement. A Convention of the Estates (a less formal meeting of Parliament) refused in January 1561 either to sanction the constitution of the Church as submitted in the First Book of Discipline or to transfer to the Protestant Church any substantial share of the old ecclesiastical revenues, for which there were many eager claimants. The result was disastrous for the Scottish Parliament. The Church, not yet Presbyterian, developed an organization under a supreme court known as the General Assembly. Such an Assembly was the natural successor of the old Provincial Councils of the Church in Scotland, but the new General Assembly differed from them in including laymen in its membership and in the possession of supreme authority. The Assembly was more closely in touch with public opinion than the Parliament, with its feudal constitution, could possibly be, and its subjects of debate were those which, for many years to come, most interested the people of the Lowlands. The refusal of the Convention of 1561 to concede the demands of the Church was regarded as a betrayal by Knox and his followers, and it created a definite breach between the Assembly and the Parliament.

In August 1561, Mary, a young widow, returned to Scotland and had no alternative to a recognition of the ecclesiastical revolution, and of a peace which the insurgents had made with England. Her great ambition was to unite the two Crowns in her own person, as the representative of Henry VII; she was Elizabeth's junior by nine years, and she looked forward to the English succession and was sufficiently tactless to remind her cousin of the difference in their ages. Elizabeth took full advantage of the situation; she feared that Mary might marry into the House of Hapsburg and thus precipitate an attack upon England by Spain, and she warned Mary that if she made a marriage contrary to the wishes of the English queen, an Act of Parliament would be passed to debar the Scottish succession, and she held out hopes of a recognition

as the heiress of England if she married in accordance with her wishes. Elizabeth held the trump cards, for she could, and actually did, take objection to a harmless marriage and refuse to fulfil her part of what Mary regarded as a bargain. She was so completely master of the situation, that not only did she prevent Mary from marrying a Hapsburg, but for four years she prevented her from marrying anybody.

During these years, Mary acted with the Protestant party and was guided by the advice of her illegitimate half-brother, whom she created Earl of Murray. Any attempt to restore Papal authority, as the English Mary had done, was out of the question. The nobles were not likely to surrender the Church lands or to resign the pensions with which Elizabeth bribed them in order to please their girl sovereign, and the utmost that Mary could seriously hope for was the toleration which Knox was determined to prevent. She could not even protect the worship of her own attendants in her own Chapel, and Knox afterwards said that, on her first arrival, he could have executed God's judgments against her if he had chosen to do so. Yet the fascination of her personality was creating a Queen's party in Scotland when she made an unhappy marriage which alienated many who might have been her friends. Her cousin, Henry, Lord Darnley, stood next to herself in the succession to the English Crown, and after the Hamiltons in the succession to the Crown of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where his father, the Earl of Lennox, had taken a traitor's refuge in the early years of Mary's minority, and Elizabeth sent him to Scotland with the intention that Mary should fall in love with him and thus make a marriage innocuous to England. Mary doubtless realized that a marriage with Darnley would consolidate the Scottish claim to the English Crown, but her decision was dictated by passion rather than by policy when she married Darnley in July 1565.

Elizabeth at once declared herself offended, and her pensioner, Murray, raised a rebellion. The people

rallied to Mary's side and Murray fled to England to be disowned and supported by Elizabeth, who, from 1565 to 1567, though nominally on friendly terms with her "dear sister," was engaged in successive attempts to bring about her ruin. A year later, she had a fresh opportunity. Darnley was a petulant and sulky boy, and he was deeply offended by his wife's refusal to give him the Crown Matrimonial; if she had consented, he would have had a claim to the throne after Mary's death (in default of issue of their marriage) to the detriment of the natural heirs, the Hamiltons. He had no friends and many enemies in Scotland, but he chose to ascribe Mary's refusal to the influence of her private secretary, an Italian named David Rizzio, and he entered into a conspiracy with a body of Scottish nobles. Rizzio was to be murdered, Mary was to be imprisoned, Murray and his fellow-exiles were to return, and Darnley was to govern Scotland. Elizabeth was in the plot, and she knew, what Darnley was foolish enough not to understand, that the nobles had no intention of removing Mary to make way for the husband her marriage to whom had been the cause of Murray's rebellion. Only two of the objects of the conspiracy were actually carried out. Rizzio was brutally murdered in the presence of the queen, then far advanced in pregnancy. She was duly imprisoned, but she obtained an interview with her husband, and persuaded him that he had nothing to expect from his accomplices, and together they escaped from Holyrood (March 1566). Again public opinion and public support rallied to the queen, and the Rizzio murderers fled to Elizabeth. Murray and his friends had arrived in Edinburgh the morning after the murder, and her brother made his peace with Mary.

These two successes alarmed the Protestants, and it is possible that they had some reason for their alarm. A year later, in the summer of 1567, a third rebellion had a very different result, Mary was fully aware of her husband's treason, and the birth of their son, James, in June 1566 failed to reconcile the unhappy parents.

Mary was urged to seek an annulment of her marriage, but she feared to jeopardize her baby's claim to the English throne. Darnley had incurred the bitter enmity of the whole of the Scottish nobility, and there was a widespread conspiracy against him. His destruction was inevitable and was foreseen in England as well as in Scotland, but it need not have involved the ruin of his wife, if Mary had not married the Earl of Bothwell in May 1568, some three months after the murder of Darnley, in which he was known to have taken an active share. Mary's guilt or innocence is a matter of biographical rather than historical importance. There were those in Scotland who were determined to get rid of her as well as of Darnley ; if there was an under-plot in the form of a domestic intrigue between Mary and Bothwell, the queen was unconsciously fulfilling the aims of her worst enemies. The " Casket Letters " are the only (and dubious) evidence for this ; it may be that Mary knew merely that her nobles were engaged in a plot against the husband whom she had good reason to hate, and that she had no reason to suspect Bothwell of larger guilt than the rest of them. One thing is certain—that the device of a gunpowder explosion was adopted in order to advertize to the country and the world that Darnley had been murdered ; he was recovering from a serious illness and poison (about which that age knew something) would have been the natural resort of a guilty wife and her paramour, if they alone were concerned. Long afterwards, the nobles accused each other of a share in the murder of Darnley ; and the most inveterate of Mary's enemies, the Earl of Morton, suffered for it on the scaffold.

But Mary was discredited by the Bothwell marriage, and when Murray raised another rebellion, she was without support. In June 1567 she surrendered to her enemies at Carberry Hill, near Musselburgh, was imprisoned in Loch Leven Castle, and forced to abdicate and to nominate her treacherous brother, Murray, as Regent for her son. In the summer of 1568, she made a romantic escape, found herself at the head of

an army in which were many Protestants, was defeated by Murray at Langside, on the outskirts of Glasgow, and, misled by an invitation from Elizabeth (given when the English queen believed that there was no possibility of its acceptance), took refuge on English soil, to find herself a prisoner for life. But there was still a Queen's Party in Scotland and civil war during the regencies of the Earl of Murray, who was assassinated in January 1570, the Earl of Lennox (Darnley's father), who was killed in a skirmish in September 1571, and the Earl of Mar, who died in October 1572. Mar was succeeded by Morton who, with English help, brought the civil war to an end with the capture of Edinburgh Castle, which had been holding out for the Queen (June 1573). All the regents were dependent upon English support, for Elizabeth could always threaten to release Mary. This was probably her main reason for imprisoning the Scottish queen, a decision dishonourable to the woman who had invited her, and without justification except as a matter of English policy. But the English Roman Catholics, who had submitted peacefully to the rule of a heretic, found their patience strained when the usurper imprisoned the lady whom they regarded as their rightful sovereign, and from the time of Mary's captivity, Elizabeth had to face conspiracy and rebellion. She had tried to persuade the regents to receive the queen and murder her on Scottish soil, but the bargains for that purpose were never concluded, and Morton, who was free from any moral scruple, declined to listen to so dangerous a proposal, declaring that he was too "old a cat to draw that straw after him."

During the regency of Morton, the dispute between Church and State in Scotland, to the origin of which we have already referred, underwent a significant development. While the civil war was in progress, the king's party was dependent upon the elements in the nation most deeply interested in the security of the Protestant faith. The first parliament which met (December 1567) after the deposition of Mary, ratified

the ecclesiastical legislation of 1560, recognized the jurisdiction of the Protestant Church Courts, and promised to define that jurisdiction and to make financial provision for the ministry of the Church. Partly in order to secure the revenues of the old dioceses, and partly in order to establish a system of local ecclesiastical administration, the Reformed Church developed a tendency towards a modified form of episcopacy; the bishops were to be administrative officers and not a superior order of clergy. Morton feared the use which an adequately endowed Church might make of the powers it claimed to possess. It held ecclesiastical authority, the Power of the Keys, to be distinct in its nature and operation from the office of the Civil Magistrate, "not having a temporal Head on earth." The establishment of a theocracy was a real danger when ecclesiastical questions were the politics of the day, and Morton not only wished to prevent this development, but also, as a greedy and unscrupulous baron, was anxious to use the episcopal revenues as endowments for the great families, a purpose they had served before the Reformation. His exercise of ecclesiastical patronage convinced the Church that claims on bishoprics which would be merely appanages of the nobility were not worth preserving, and about the same time a new ecclesiastical leader appeared in the person of Andrew Melville. He taught the essential "parity" of all ministers of the Word, denounced the episcopal office as unscriptural, and, adapting precedents familiar in Reformed Churches on the Continent, urged upon the Church the establishment of the court known as the Presbytery or Classical Assembly (the assembly of a classis or division) to supply an efficient system of local ecclesiastical administration. The Melvillian policy was accepted by the General Assembly and from about 1581 the Church in Scotland became Presbyterian; but there remained a minority which desired to have some kind of episcopacy, and on this issue the long battle between Church and State was to be fought.

Morton had been no friend to the Church, but his supersession in 1580 was regarded as a blow to the Protestant cause. James, a precocious boy (he was fifteen when Morton was executed in 1581) fell under the influence of a kinsman, Esmé Stewart, who had been brought up in France, as a Roman Catholic. The king conferred upon him the title of Duke of Lennox, announced his favourite's conversion to the Reformed faith, and invited signatures to a new National Covenant repudiating the "usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist." Suspicion was not allayed, and a body of Protestant nobles seized the king's person in the Raid of Ruthven (1582), with the full approval of the General Assembly, which thus became the avowed enemy of the sovereign. James escaped from his captors in the summer of 1583, and at once took up the Assembly's challenge. He accused Andrew Melville of treason and persuaded an obedient parliament to pass the "Black Acts" of 1584, which gave the Crown authority over the Church, forbade the meeting of ecclesiastical courts without royal leave, and assigned administrative duties to bishops selected by the Crown. The king's victory followed the suppression of a rebellion, and in the course of the next ten years he lost ground in his struggle with the Assembly. He was very poor, and in 1585 he made a league with England in return for a pension. In view of the menace from Spain, Elizabeth was anxious about the attitude of Scotland, whose harbours might serve as a base for a Spanish Armada ; it is true that she chose this moment for putting his mother to death (February 1587), but she did so only after ascertaining that James would "digest" the insult and give the world an example of manly resignation. His main interest, like his mother's, was the English succession ; he realized that the Scottish claim would be ignored if Mary should be its representative when Elizabeth died, and the health of the English queen did not promise the longevity to which she ultimately (and, in James's view, unnecessarily) attained.

Friendship with England tended towards the establishment of better relations with Scottish Protestantism, and the poverty of the crown inspired James to take a step which he soon came to regret. In 1587 he annexed all ecclesiastical property to the Crown, including episcopal revenues. As his bishops possessed no episcopal orders and had no commission from the Church, even as administrators, the seizure of diocesan property amounted, as James afterwards understood, to "the indirect abolition of the estate of Bishops." Having thus dealt a blow to his own ecclesiastical policy, he entered into a series of intrigues with Catholic powers which aroused grave suspicion in Scotland and would have prevented his accession to the English throne, if Robert Cecil had revealed all that he knew. His opponents gained strength, and when James left Scotland for some months in 1589, to bring home a Danish bride, he depended upon the Church for the preservation of peace and order. On his return, there were further intrigues with Spain, the Crown fell into disrepute, and the Church was strong enough to extort from James in 1592 a statute, known as the Golden Act, by which parliamentary sanction was given for the first time to the Presbyterian Church Courts, and the royal supremacy was limited by a recognition of "the privilege that God has given to the spiritual office-bearers in the Kirk."

But James was biding his time, and would probably have claimed that he was giving the ecclesiastical leaders rope enough. Four years later, in the end of 1596, the Church leaders adopted an extreme and, indeed, untenable, position, and James took full advantage of his opportunity. A Convention of the Estates reasserted the royal supremacy over the Church, and James in 1597 enjoyed his first success in attempting to manipulate the Assembly itself. He obtained from a body of Commissioners of the Church a request that the clerical estate should be represented in Parliament, and he summoned a parliament to give effect to the demand. The Act which followed ordered

that "such pastors and ministers . . . as at any time his majesty shall please to provide to the office, place, title, and dignity of a bishop, abbot, or other prelate, shall at all times hereafter have vote in parliament." The "abbots" of the period were lay-grantees of monastic revenues, many of whom found their way into the peerage; the importance of the Act lay in the legal recognition of the rights of a bishop. The "Bishops" whom James appointed had no episcopal orders, but he persuaded a General Assembly to confer upon them, under the title of "Commissioners," some administrative authority. Thus, before his accession to the throne of England, James had laid the foundation of the ecclesiastical policy which he was to live to see triumphant over the parity on which Melville and his followers insisted. That the triumph was short-lived was not the fault of King James.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE UNION OF THE CROWNS TO THE UNION OF THE KINGDOMS

THE accession of James VI to the throne of England greatly increased the prestige of the monarchy in Scotland. For centuries disobedient nobles, and, more recently, disobedient ecclesiastics, had found refuge and support across the Border, and the Border, in this sense, ceased to exist. James found in England a machinery of absolute government, and he did not fail to appreciate the significance of the Tudor device of government by Council. From 1603, the powers of the Privy Council of Scotland began to develop until it became the sole Executive, and to some extent, the legislature of the kingdom. James used his new authority to establish a rule by law, even in the Highlands, and in Orkney and Shetland, and he found himself able to deal with subversive elements which had triumphed over his ancestors. "By a Clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword," he told his English Parliament in 1607, and his boasting was justified. The Scottish Parliament maintained its tradition of subservience; there were occasional indications of opposition to the royal policy, and the king's demands for fresh taxation had once or twice to be modified, but in greater matters he invariably had his wishes respected.

With a statesmanship which did not characterize all his dealings with Scotland, James realized from the first that the union of the Crowns must be followed by a union of the Kingdoms. "Those two kingdoms," he said, "are so conjoined that, if we should sleep in our beds, the union should be, though we would not." In his first speech to an English Parliament, he urged

a complete union of the two countries and a body of commissioners was appointed to discuss the question. The opposition came mainly from England; one of the Scottish Commissioners, the great feudal lawyer, Sir Thomas Craig, has left on record that in his talks with his English colleagues, he found them "frankly indignant that our countrymen should have equality in honours and employment, their own reputation and resources being so much the greater." For over a century, this English attitude remained the stumbling block over which successive negotiations came to grief—in 1604, in 1670, and in 1702. All that James could obtain from his English Parliament was the repeal of the laws which treated Scotland as a hostile country; by a judicial decision, based upon the prerogative of the Crown, he secured that Scotsmen born after March 24, 1603, were not aliens in England, and the Scottish Parliament made a similar concession for the king's English subjects. By proclamation he assumed the title of King of Great Britain, and by a further use of the prerogative he gave Scottish trade something like commercial freedom in England.

His ambition of uniting the two kingdoms made James the more anxious to establish uniformity of Church government by the introduction of a real episcopacy into Scotland, and he pursued his conflict with the General Assembly. He proscribed its meetings and he found a pretext for depriving it of its leader, Andrew Melville, who, after being kept for some years in restraint in England, was allowed to go into exile in tolerant France, as a professor in the University of Sedan. Parliament revoked the Act of 1587, annexing episcopal revenues to the Crown, and re-asserted the royal prerogative over all persons and causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil. Conventions of the Church were persuaded to agree to the appointment of permanent Moderators of Presbyteries. In 1608 a General Assembly, under royal influence, gave this status to the bishops, and in the following year the Parliament restored the ancient episcopal jurisdiction in spiritual

and ecclesiastical causes ; the measure was defended as essential for the proper execution of the penal laws against Roman Catholics. An Assembly, the members of which were nominated by the king, approved of this restoration of episcopal authority, stipulating only that the bishops should be subject to the censure of the Assembly, though they could not be dismissed without the royal consent, and appointed a penalty of deprivation for any minister who preached on the parity or equality by the clergy, the central tenet of Presbyterianism.

Up to this date the Scottish bishops were merely administrative officials, but in 1610, James introduced an episcopal succession from England. There had always been in the Church of Scotland a party favourable to a modified form of Episcopacy, and it was only a modified form that James, by a series of clever and unscrupulous tricks, succeeded in introducing. The Provincial Synod became a Diocesan Synod, and the General Assembly was rarely summoned ; its authority had been in great measure transferred to the bishops and to a Court of High Commission on the English model. But the local church courts—the Kirk Session and the Presbytery—still met and still exercised adequate authority within their own bounds. The ritual of the early Reformed Church was maintained, and no attempt was made to interfere with the use of John Knox's Book of Common Order or to prohibit extemporary prayers. James had grafted bishops on to a Presbyterian system. The clergy were indignant at the loss of their power, but laymen were content with the familiar local courts of the Church and with the retention of their traditional ritual. If no further steps had been taken, there is every indication that the Jacobean compromise would have endured. The younger ministers, as they grew up, were less vehemently opposed to the existence of bishops than the older generation, which had witnessed the long struggle and the royal triumph. The future Presbyterian leader, Robert Baillie, was content with an episcopal

system as late as 1637, though he shared with Archbishop Laud a distrust of the Scottish Episcopal Bench.

Some years later, James endangered the success of his policy by an attempt to introduce, by the Five Articles of Perth, some modifications of Presbyterian ritual. These included the adoption of a kneeling posture at communion, and the observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. A nominated Assembly, which met at Perth in 1618, sanctioned these innovations, and its decisions were confirmed by Parliament. In the north-east of Scotland, where, alone in the Lowlands, the episcopal party was strong, the Articles were observed; elsewhere, they led to irreverent wranglings in Church, and to the deprivation of ministers and the prosecution of recusant laymen. The Court of High Commission could not secure obedience to the law. James's attempt to legislate for the Church on points of ritual had re-opened the old quarrel on an untenable ground. In spite of some explosions of the royal temper, there are indications that he realized his mistake, and, in his last years, refusals to conform to the Five Articles were frequently ignored. When Charles I succeeded his father in 1625, he followed, for a time, the same cautious policy, and was even prepared to admit a general exemption for ministers ordained before 1618, but after 1629, under the influence of William Laud, then Bishop of London, he initiated a series of efforts to remodel the liturgy of the Scottish Church and to remove the remaining elements of presbytery from its constitution.

These efforts culminated in the publication of a Book of Canons, in 1635-6, and of a Scottish Prayer Book in 1637; both were issued by royal authority and without the sanction of even a nominated Assembly; no Assembly had met since 1618. The Canons contemplated the establishment of an episcopally governed church; they assumed the disappearance of Kirk Session and Presbytery, for the duties of which other provision was made; and they prohibited,

under penalty of deprivation, the use of extemporary prayer. The Service Book was the English Book of Common Prayer, with some alterations, which were regarded in Scotland as "plain proofs of Popery." The changes in ritual and government were deeply disliked by laity as well as clergy, and they were resented as being English in origin and Popish in spirit, and as being forced by the State upon the Church. The reading of the Prayer Book in St. Giles' Cathedral, in Edinburgh, on Sunday, July 23rd, 1637, produced a riot which was the beginning of a revolution.

No revolution is explicable by a single formula, and there are other considerations which account for the significance of what might have been an isolated outbreak. Charles had revoked ancient grants of ecclesiastical property in order to endow the new establishment in the Church, and had thus offended many classes of the community, including noblemen, lairds, burghs, and successful merchants. He had alienated in other ways the nobility, the class which, from its growing familiarity with English ways, was least likely to oppose his innovations, and the burden of taxation was regarded as extortionate and oppressive. All the elements of opposition were encouraged by the situation of the king's affairs in England, and by the gradual formation of an alliance between Scottish Presbyterians and English Puritans, an alliance which culminated in, and was ultimately destroyed by, the Solemn League and Covenant.

The riot in St. Giles was followed by the signature of the National Covenant, a revival of the covenants of 1557 and 1581, and Charles was compelled to assent to the meeting of a "free" General Assembly, in Glasgow, in November 1638. The Assembly was free in the sense that it was not nominated by the Crown, but power had passed into other hands, and the Church leaders allowed only Covenanters to be present. The Assembly defied the king and deposed the bishops, and in the spring of 1639 sent the young Earl of Montrose to enforce the Covenant upon the reluctant inhabi-

tants of Aberdeenshire, and placed Alexander Leslie, a veteran of the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, in command of an army on the Borders. The first blow in the civil war was shed in Montrose's campaign, but there was no fighting on the Border. Charles's raw English levies were unable to meet a body of trained soldiers, many of whom had fought in Germany, and a truce was negotiated. Another Assembly defied the king, and in August 1640, Leslie and Montrose dispersed a royalist force at Newburn, and seized Newcastle. In the interval, the meeting, and the dissolution, of the Short Parliament had proved that the King's English opponents sympathized with the Scots, and that Charles could not hope to obtain Parliamentary sanction for raising troops to suppress the Scottish rebellion. The presence of a Scottish army in England was, for the moment, not resented; it was regarded as a guarantee of English liberties, and it compelled Charles to summon the Long Parliament in order to get rid of it, by payment or by fighting.

As the struggle between King and Parliament developed in England, Charles resolved to attempt to obtain Scottish support against his English opponents, and in the summer of 1641, he visited Edinburgh, gave way on all the points at issue with such facility as to arouse suspicion of his intentions, and loaded his Scottish enemies with honours. Meanwhile, Scottish commissioners were resident in London discussing the terms of the evacuation of the northern counties. They became convinced that England desired the establishment of Presbytery, and adopted the ideal of James and Charles—compulsory uniformity of Church government in the two kingdoms. When he returned to Scotland, one of them, Alexander Henderson, minister of St. Giles in Edinburgh, enunciated the policy of the Solemn League and Covenant in July 1641. The suggestion received wide support, but the Scots found no opportunity of pressing their policy upon England until, in the autumn of 1643, the English Parliament was in desperate need of help in the civil

war. By this time, the Covenanting leaders were beginning to realize that England did not want Presbytery; Robert Baillie frankly admitted that what the English wanted was a "civil league" and not a "religious covenant." But the Scots would send an army only on condition that the English Parliament should compel the English people to take a solemn covenant to establish a form of church government which could only be Presbytery; the possible alternatives, "Popery, Prelacy, and Schism [Independency]" were expressly proscribed. The representation by English Presbyterians in the Long Parliament was out of all proportion to their real influence and importance in the kingdom, but it was with reluctance that the Commons assented to the Scottish terms and summoned an Assembly of Divines to determine the constitution of the contemplated new establishment of the Church.

The policy of the Solemn League was doomed from the first to the failure which it deserved. The Scottish army distinguished itself in the victory of Marston Moor in 1644, but a large portion of it had to be recalled to Scotland to meet the attack of Montrose, who, disgusted with the policy of the covenanting leaders, had adopted the royalist cause. In the winter of 1644-45, Oliver Cromwell raised his New Model Army, and in April 1645, the Self-Denying Ordinance effectually destroyed the control of the English Parliament over the magnificent force which for a time fought in the name of the two Houses. In June, Cromwell's triumph at Naseby put an end to organized royalist resistance in England, and in September the king's last hope was crushed by the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, after a brilliant series of victories. The English Army, not the English Parliament, had beaten the King, and the Army was composed of Independents who hated Presbytery as much as they hated Episcopacy. The Parliament could keep its bond to the Scots only by passing statutes which it was powerless to enforce. The Scottish Church accepted a Confession of Faith, Catechisms, a Directory for Public Worship,

and a new metrical version of the Psalms in agreement with the English Assembly of Divines, which had met at Westminster, and the English Parliament duly ordered the reception of these documents and the establishment of Presbytery throughout England. But Cromwell and the Army demanded toleration for the Independents, a demand inconsistent with the Solemn League and Covenant.

Fresh hopes were aroused by the surrender of Charles to the Scottish army in May 1646. If King, Parliament, and Scots could agree, they might be able to contend with the Army. But Charles, though he had accepted five years earlier the establishment of Presbytery in Scotland, would not undertake to force it upon England or betray the Church of England, whose members had been the mainstay of the royalist cause. The Scottish army was by this time extremely unpopular in England, and it was essential to evacuate Newcastle as soon as the English Parliament defrayed the expenses of the Scottish troops in accordance with the agreement made in 1643. The Parliament offered to pay a fraction of its debt in return for the surrender of the royal person, and the Scots assented to the bargain. But the Parliament, which had bought the King, was not strong enough to keep him; he was captured by the army, was unwise enough to decline surprisingly favourable terms offered him in the document known as Heads of Proposals, and was imprisoned in the Isle of Wight. In this extremity he again turned to the Scots and offered to establish Presbytery in England, as an experiment, for three years. The suggestion was an insult to what the Scots held to be the only divinely appointed form of Church government, but indignation at the failure of the king's English enemies to fulfil the obligations undertaken in the Solemn League was so strong that they entered into the agreement known as the Engagement and again invaded England, this time as a royalist force, in the summer of 1648, to meet with a crushing defeat at Preston, in July.

The Engagement had been carried by a large majority

in the Scottish Parliament in defiance of the General Assembly, and the defeat at Preston was a victory for the Assembly, which dominated the Parliament for the next two years, until its authority was, in turn, destroyed by another English victory on the battlefield. Parliament and Assembly proscribed all their opponents who had taken the Engagement, and were entering into friendly relations with Cromwell and the Independents, when the execution of King Charles produced a violent reaction. Charles II was at once proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, in defiance of the English commonwealth; he was brought to Scotland from Holland, was compelled to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and for some months, in 1650, was a royal prisoner in the hands of his father's enemies. Cromwell's victory at Dunbar, on September 3rd, destroyed the authority and the prestige of the Assembly, and the balance of power in Scotland was changed by an influx of Royalist soldiers to the standard of the young king. It was with an army that was largely royalist in sympathy that he marched into England, in 1651, and if that army had returned victorious, or even if it had returned at all, the Scottish Parliament and the General Assembly might well have shared the experience of the Long Parliament in England, and have found themselves superseded by an army which fought in their name. As it was, Cromwell's "crowning victory" at Worcester on the first anniversary of Dunbar, left Scotland at the mercy of the English army, and there was some talk of annexing it as a conquered country.

Wiser counsels prevailed, and the terms of a nominally voluntary union were arranged. Events in England delayed the sanction of the agreement by an English Parliament, but Scotland became part of the Commonwealth and sent representatives to the Parliaments of the Protectorates. The union was thoroughgoing and on the side of administration Scotland gained much from the firm rule of the Protectorate. It was, however, too much impoverished to reap the full benefit

of free trade with England, and taxation was heavy. To the Church, hopelessly divided by quarrels which had originated in the Engagement, Cromwell's rule brought an enforced peace but no harmony. The General Assembly was forcibly dissolved in 1653 and was not allowed to meet again, though the lower courts of the Church were left unmolested. Independents were tolerated and even encouraged, and Cromwell insisted that he had given the Scots liberty of conscience, but would give them no liberty to bind other men's consciences; from this liberal formula, Episcopalians and Roman Catholics were, of course, excluded. The Cromwellian rule which, however efficient, was military and English, could not be popular in Scotland, but in the interregnum which followed the death of the great Protector the Scots merely watched the progress of events in England. The Restoration was an English movement, though there is every indication that it was welcomed in Scotland.

The last hopes of the supporters of the Solemn League and Covenant were raised by the political situation in England in the spring of 1660, when the restored Long Parliament revived the Presbyterian legislation of 1646-7. The Scots had long abandoned the fiction that England really wanted Presbytery—Robert Baillie had consoled himself in 1646 with the reflection that Presbytery must be a divine ordinance "because so much resistance was made to it by men of all sorts"—but they shared with the Presbyterians in the Long Parliament a hope of securing its establishment by a bargain with the exiled monarch. The Declaration of Breda, with its promise of "liberty to tender consciences," was incompatible with the Solemn League, to which Charles had sworn, and their experience under Oliver Cromwell, upon whom the Solemn League had been forced before he rose to greatness, had failed to convince the Scots of the worthlessness of compulsory subscription. Charles II was regarded in Scotland as "a covenanted king," and the re-establishment of the Church of England seemed

even to the more moderate covenanters, to be a hideous breach of a sacred oath. The Scottish view was entirely out of touch with the realities of the situation. To the great majority of the English people the Solemn League and Covenant was simply a wicked device of a rebellious House of Commons, and the just claim of the Scots to determine their own form of Church government was inextricably associated with their outrageous and impossible demand for the suppression of Episcopacy in England.

In Scotland, Presbytery was legally established by royal consent, as it had never been legally established in England, and Charles II, as late as September 1660, promised to "protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law." In the following spring, a subservient Scottish Parliament rescinded all legislation since 1633, and Episcopacy thus became "the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law." Scottish bishops were appointed and received Anglican Orders, but there was no attempt to re-introduce the Book of Common Prayer. The lower church courts were permitted to meet, but they were placed under the direct control of the bishops, and the more rigid Presbyterians refused to acknowledge their authority. Lay patronage, which had been abolished in 1649, was automatically restored by the repeal of the legislation of that year, and every minister inducted into a parish since 1649 was ordered to apply for a presentation from the patron of his living and for a collation from the bishop of his diocese. Nearly three hundred ministers refused to do so and were ejected from their parishes; in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, eighty-seven ministers were deprived and only thirty-five remained. Both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were denounced by Act of Parliament as unlawful and rebellious bands, and anyone admitted to office of any kind was required to abjure them. Penalties were prescribed for preaching, or for praying (in public) against the episcopal government of the Church.

Force of circumstances threw the Scots back from the Solemn League, with its propaganda of proscription and persecution, to the National Covenant which had originated in a struggle for freedom. They still demanded the Solemn League, and insisted that it was binding for all time upon the two nations and their posterity, but after 1660 it ceased to be a matter of practical politics, and, in spite of their own assertions, the Scottish covenanters of the reign of Charles II would have acquiesced peaceably in a settlement that gave them the toleration which they described as the Devil's masterpiece. The Government, on its side, brought new repressive measures into force. The expulsion of parish ministers led inevitably to meetings for worship elsewhere than in the churches, and acts were passed imposing fines for non-attendance in the parish churches, a device borrowed from the Elizabethan penal code in England. Troops were quartered in non-conformist districts to collect the fines, and the episcopal clergy were instructed to make themselves popular among their parishioners, by reporting delinquents. These measures failed to prevent the growth of conventicles, and the Privy Council ordered that no ejected minister might reside within twenty miles of his former parish, or within six miles of a cathedral city, or within three miles of a royal burgh.

A small rebellion in 1666, known as the Pentland Rising, gave no serious trouble to the Government, but the Privy Council took the revenge of men whom terror had made insensible of their cruelty. Of about 100 prisoners, ten were hanged on one gibbet at *Edinburgh*, and thirty-five were sent to be hanged at their own doors; others were subjected to the torture of the boot. They refused to save themselves, by renouncing the Covenants, and the Royal Commissioner, the Duke of Rothes, described them as "damd fules and incorrigible phanaticks," but he had made the Covenants the sole alternative to an enforced episcopacy; those who wished to worship as Presbyterians must worship as covenanters. Men of good will,

the most famous of whom was Archbishop Leighton, tried in vain to mediate, and the Government twice proclaimed an "Indulgence" under which Presbyterian clergy might be inducted to parishes without repudiating the Covenants. But acceptance of the offer meant acceptance of Episcopacy, and of a complete royal supremacy over the Church, and very few took advantage of it. Meetings for worship in private houses or on the hillsides became more and more frequent. Conventicles in the former were harmless from the point of view of the Government, because the worshippers must necessarily be few in numbers; to the field conventicles arms were carried. Yet an Act was passed increasing penalties for worship in private houses, and the consequent growth of field conventicles was met by a ferocious statute which appointed a death penalty for the offence of expounding Scripture or praying at a field conventicle, the definition of which was extended to include a house so crowded as to necessitate the doors being kept open. Men who attended conventicles in arms were outlawed, and outlawry was the punishment for giving food or shelter to an outlaw.

The Duke of Lauderdale, who governed Scotland from 1667 to 1679, recognized that his policy must produce a rebellion, and he even welcomed the prospect. "Would to God," he once wrote, "they would rebel, that so I might bring over an army of Irish Papists to cut all their throats." When the rebellion came, it was on a surprisingly small scale, and was confined to the south-west. On May 3rd, 1679, James Sharpe, an ecclesiastic who had betrayed the Presbyterian cause and had become Archbishop of St. Andrews, was brutally murdered as he was driving across Magus Moor in Fife. The crime was regarded with horror by Presbyterians in general, but the cruelties of the Government had driven men to despair, and on Restoration Day 1679, a body of Covenanters, most of them already outlaws, proclaimed at Rutherglen their defiance to the king, and took up arms. They collected a

small army, defeated John Graham of Claverhouse at Drumclog on June 1, and for three weeks they held the country round Hamilton. The rising was suppressed by the Duke of Monmouth, at Bothwell Bridge, on June 22, and about a thousand prisoners were confined, without shelter, in Greyfriars Churchyard in Edinburgh, from June to November. Lauderdale was replaced by the heir to the throne, the Duke of York. He seems to have had some ideas of moderation and he made friends by his encouragement of trade, but the years of his rule (1680-82) belong to what is known as the Killing Time. The extreme covenanters, in fanatical desperation, disowned King Charles II for his "perjury and breach of covenant." They were occasionally able to fight a small action, but, for the most part, they were hunted by Claverhouse and his dragoons and might be shot at sight. New penal laws were enforced against them, and an oath was imposed upon all persons in public trust, by which they were required to approve the Confession of Faith of 1560 and also the royal supremacy over the Church, which was inconsistent with the Confession. Eighty of the episcopal clergy were ejected from their livings for refusing to take this oath, and the Earl of Argyll, who took it "as far as it is consistent with itself," was condemned to death for treason as a defamer of the King's laws. After the Duke of York left Scotland in 1682, the atrocities of the Killing Time became even fiercer, and the thumbscrew was invoked to vary the torture of the boot.

When Charles II died, in February 1685, the country was ripe for rebellion, but, once again, the rebellion was on a very small scale. Argyll, who had escaped to Holland, invaded Scotland in the spring of 1685, and was captured and executed under his old sentence. An obsequious Parliament made mere attendance at a conventicle a capital offence. Then with the development of the English policy of James VII and II, there was an entire change in the conduct of affairs. Obsequious as the Scottish Parliament was, it refused to

legalize the toleration for Roman Catholics upon which the king's heart was set, and he determined to carry out his projects by unflinching use of the royal prerogative. The Killing Time came to an end with his Letters of Indulgence in 1687. They were received with satisfaction, but the discovery that James was bent upon achieving much more than toleration for Roman Catholics soon aroused a widespread alarm. Roman Catholics were appointed to the Privy Council, in defiance of the laws, and the Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, announced his conversion. Town Councils, as in England, were filled with royal nominees. Holyrood became a centre of Roman Catholic worship and propaganda. A man was hanged for expressing approval of an anti-Popish riot, and for drinking "confusion to Popery." The publication of Protestant pamphlets was practically prohibited by an order that all publications must pass the censorship of the Chancellor.

The Revolution, like the Restoration, was an English movement; Scotland was ready but was quiescent until the English Revolution had begun. When the Prince of Orange meditated his invasion, he sent proclamations to Scotland, and on December 10, 1688, there was a riot in Edinburgh in which Holyrood was sacked and some members of its small garrison were murdered. There were attacks upon Edinburgh Roman Catholics, and, in the country, gangs of ruffians went about and destroyed the property of the Episcopal clergy. In the beginning of 1689, the Prince of Orange issued summonses for the election of a Convention of the Estates, which, in April, declared that King James had forfeited the throne and offered it to the Prince and Princess of Orange, by that time, King and Queen of England. The offer included a declaration that "prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is and hath been a great and insupportable grievance, and trouble to this Nation and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people." These words are a significant indication of a coming development which was to divest Scottish

Presbyterianism of its spirit of rigid intolerance, and to imbue it with the spirit of freedom which characterizes it to-day, but they were deeply resented in 1689. The "generality" of Presbyterians at that date regarded Presbytery as the only form of Church government which could claim a scriptural warrant, and believed that they were bound, by a solemn and irrevocable covenant with the Almighty, to extirpate all other systems; the Church of Scotland to-day is content to hold that Presbytery is warranted by the Word of God and acceptable to the "generality of the people." The State in 1689 was wiser than the Church, when it refused to base the claim of Scotland to determine its own method of church government either upon the Solemn League and Covenant or upon current controversies about the evidence for the existence of a classical assembly or presbytery at Ephesus in the days of St. Paul. The extremists would be content with nothing but the Solemn League and urged that the omission of any demand for it involved the whole nation in fearful perjury, but the statesmen of the day were too wise to attempt to repeat the experiment of a covenanted king. Episcopacy ceased to be the Established Church of Scotland in 1689, but the final settlement was delayed by a civil war, in which Claverhouse, who had become Viscount Dundee, championed the cause of King James. Dundee was slain in the hour of victory at Killiecrankie on July 27, 1689, and the rule of William and Mary met with little further resistance.

The religious settlement was made in 1690. Parliament restored the survivors of the Presbyterian ministers, ejected in 1661, ratified the Westminster Confession of Faith, re-enacted the Golden Act of 1592 (*cf.* p. 52), and abolished lay patronage. Except for the supersession of the Knoxian by the Westminster Confession and for the abolition of lay patronage, the history of the Church from 1638 to 1660 was thus ignored, to the indignation of the followers of Richard Cameron, who during the Killing Time had founded a body of Reformed Presbyterians. The Cameronians,

as they were called (though they repudiated the title), became the first Secession Church. William insisted upon a toleration for Episcopalians in Scotland, and episcopal clergy who took the oath to the new Government were permitted to retain their livings, though they were deprived of any vote in the courts of the Church. A considerable number took the oaths, and in the north-east it was not until after 1716 that the parishes generally were filled with ministers of Presbyterian sympathies. In the Highlands, a still longer period elapsed.

After the Restoration, Scottish commerce had suffered severely from the operation of the English Navigation Act. Free trade with England came to an end with the cessation of the Cromwellian Union, and Charles II was unable to secure for Scotland the privileges enjoyed after the accession of King James to the English throne. In 1667, there were negotiations for a commercial treaty between the two countries, but the English representatives refused to exempt the Scots from the operation of the Navigation Act. After the failure of this attempt, Charles II found among the papers of his grandfather, King James, a recommendation to his successors to persevere in "the endeavour to establish a firm Union betwixt England and Scotland," and both Parliaments complied with the royal wish that they should appoint Commissioners to treat of Union. The Commissioners sat at Westminster for two months in the autumn of 1670, adjourned, and never re-assembled; the Scots demanded that the existing number of members of the Scottish Parliament should be retained in a Parliament of Great Britain, and the English declined to consider the suggestion. At the date of the Revolution, the Scots were acutely conscious that their trade was being gravely handicapped by the restrictions placed upon it by their fellow-subjects in England.

The Scottish statesmen who, in their Claim of Right, had followed English precedent in demanding wide powers for a Parliament which, four years earlier,

had gloried in "the solid, absolute authority with which" the Kings of Scots "were invested by the first and fundamental Law of our Monarchy," must have been conscious that a personal Union of the Crowns was a practicable method of governing the two nations only when the sovereign exercised the ultimate power of decision. A limited monarchy, in which the real authority rested with two separate Parliaments could not long survive serious disputes between the representatives of the two countries. From the date of the Revolution, the choice lay between union and separation. The Scottish Convention, at the opening of the new reign, recognized the implication of the Claim of Right, and appointed commissioners "to treat the terms of an entire and perpetual union betwixt the two kingdoms, with reservation to us of our Church government, as it shall be established at the time of the Union," and they offered to accept King William as arbiter in any dispute about the terms of the Union. William welcomed the suggestion, but his English Parliament refused to appoint commissioners to meet the Scots.

A great opportunity was lost, and never again in William's reign, would the Scottish Parliament have invited his arbitration. Many causes combined to render William personally unpopular and to embitter feeling against England. Chief among them were the Massacre of Glencoe and the Darien Scheme. The Massacre of Glencoe was a crime which, alike in its conception and in its execution, was the work of William's Scottish advisers. There were precedents for it under the regents Murray and Morton, and under James VI, but it was differentiated from these precedents by an inhuman treachery which aroused sympathy in the Lowlands for a Highland sept. The criminals were Scotsmen—the Master of Stair, the Earl of Breadalbane, and Campbell of Glenlyon—but the King, who cannot have been aware of the details of the diabolical plot, had given his consent to "the extirpation of that sect of thieves" and, three years

later, in 1695, when the Scottish Parliament made an inadequate effort to secure the punishment of the murderers, William, by what Macaulay admits to have been "a great breach of duty," was content with dismissing Stair from his post as Secretary of State. The history of the investigation into the massacre shows that William, who was not naturally fitted for the position of a constitutional monarch, was exercising an influence which, if unchecked, would have brought about the reversion of the Scottish Parliament to its old status of a court of registration.

A check to this tendency followed the failure of the Darien Company, and that failure itself proved that there existed for Scotland a choice between war and union with England. In 1695, the Scottish Parliament received the royal assent to an act establishing a company to trade with Africa and the Indies, and subscriptions were secured in England as well as in Scotland. But the proposal aroused the jealousy of the English merchants who still believed that prosperity could be attained by one country only at the expense of another. The House of Commons ordered the prosecution of the English directors, the English subscriptions were withdrawn, and the Scots, who had themselves raised the astonishingly large sum of £220,000, were compelled to restrict the proposed activities of the African Company to a settlement upon the Isthmus of Darien or Panama. The expedition sailed in the summer of 1698, with great hopes of concentrating the trade of the New World in the new Scottish colony. That generation could not have realized the unhealthy character of the Isthmus or the danger to European settlers, but they must have known, and apparently chose to ignore, the circumstance that Spain claimed sovereignty over the Darien territory. They could not have chosen a more unlucky time for a quarrel with Spain, for William was engaged in the effort to prevent a European war by negotiating the Partition Treaties for the Spanish Empire. William, as King of England, issued in 1699 orders to the

Governors of the English colonies in North America, in the Barbados, and in Jamaica, prohibiting his subjects from rendering any assistance to his Scottish subjects in their effort to colonize Darien. The Scottish Parliament retorted in 1700 by resolving that "our Colony of Caledonia in Darien is a legal and rightful settlement in the terms of the Act of Parliament 1695," to which the royal assent had been given. Already an issue had arisen upon which the two Parliaments of a nominally constitutional monarch were hopelessly and bitterly divided; the situation was an object lesson in the impossibility of maintaining a mere Union of the Crowns after an absolute monarchy had ceased to exist. William could only plead, as an excuse for adjourning the Scottish Parliament, that, if it had maintained this attitude, it would have "infallibly disturbed the general peace of Christendom and brought inevitably upon that our ancient Kingdom a heavy war, wherein we could expect no assistance."

A war between Scotland and Spain, or a Scottish repudiation of the authority of King William, was prevented by the news of the irretrievable failure of the Darien project. The settlers of 1698 had been carried off by disease and famine; a second expedition, which arrived in 1699, was equally unfortunate; a third expedition gained a victory over some Spanish troops in February 1700, but large Spanish forces arrived and offered honourable terms for the evacuation of Darien. The terms were accepted in April, but most of the Scottish adventurers perished in the return journey. When the Scottish Parliament met again in October 1700, it had to admit that "the business of Caledonia is now but a shadow," and it refrained from adding to the difficulties of the King at a critical time in the history of the two kingdoms and of Europe. William, on his side, assented to an Act against "wrongous imprisonment"—the Scottish Habeas Corpus Act—and promised to remedy other grievances.

A peace had been patched up, but William recognized that the position of the monarchy was impossible.

In the very height of the controversy, in February 1700, he urged his English Parliament to appoint commissioners to treat of Union; the House of Lords accepted the recommendation, but the House of Commons declined to do so. The subject was again discussed in the Lords in the following year, and in the spring of 1702, William sent from his deathbed a royal message to the Parliament at Westminster, urging that "nothing can contribute more to the present and future peace, security, and happiness of England and Scotland than a firm and entire union between them." Queen Anne, on her accession, endorsed this recommendation and a Commission sat from October 1702 to February 1703. Its deliberations were once more fruitless; English objections to free trade between the two countries proved to be insuperable.

Besides the commercial and constitutional arguments for union, there was another practical issue of grave importance. Both Parliaments had agreed in 1689 that the Crown of each country should pass to the children of William and Mary, then to Anne and her children, and then to the children of William by a later marriage. When William died, Anne stood alone in the succession, and she was not likely to bear another child. The English Parliament, after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, the only survivor of Anne's many children, had settled the succession to the English throne upon the House of Hanover, but the Scottish Parliament had taken no action in the matter, and in the session of 1702 a strong opposition had been offered to a proposal to exact from all men in public office an oath abjuring the Stewart claimant, who, in his French exile, had taken the title of James VIII and III. A Stewart Restoration in Scotland would put in grave jeopardy the Protestant succession in England, and, with that succession, the limitations which had been placed on the monarchy at the Revolution. The English Whigs had, therefore, a strong inducement to make sure that, in Queen Anne's lifetime, the Scots should irretrievably commit themselves to the

Hanoverian succession. The only adequate security was an incorporating union—the “firm and entire union” of King William’s dying words. Any form of federal union would have left open the possibility of secession, and the Scots themselves recognized that a federal union between two countries of such disproportionate population and resources was not a practicable solution of the problem. Scottish representatives must have formed a small minority in any Federal Council, and it seems to have been dimly realized by Scottish statesmen that the only means by which Scotland could influence the course of British politics was by sharing fully and completely in the national life by a United Kingdom. Many years had to elapse before it could be said that wisdom, in this connection, had been justified of her children, but the history, at all events, of the last hundred years affords ample evidence of the part played by Scotsmen in all departments of the national life.

If the English Ministers perceived the necessity of union, their Whig supporters, in spite of their anxiety about the Protestant Succession, were unwilling to make the necessary sacrifice of admitting the Scots to equal privileges of trade with England and the English colonies; but Marlborough’s victory at Blenheim in 1704 strengthened the position of the Ministry, and enabled it to defy the prejudices of its own supporters. Meanwhile, the Scottish Parliament had availed itself of every opportunity of emphasizing the difficulties of the existing relationship between the two countries. Queen Anne was at war with Louis XIV, and Scottish soldiers were fighting under Marlborough, but neither the Scottish Parliament nor the queen’s Scottish ministers had borne any share in the responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities. In 1703, an Act was passed declaring that no future sovereign should have power to make war or peace without the consent of the Scottish Parliament, and another Act admitted French wines, duty free, into Scotland. Anne gave her consent to these measures but withheld it from the famous

bill, known as the Act of Security, which threatened rupture of the Union of the Crowns, after Anne's death, unless a satisfactory constitutional and commercial agreement should be negotiated in the interval. These measures were not inspired by an ambition to force England to consent to a union; a powerful faction which called itself the Patriot or Country Party, contemplated complete separation from England, and it could rely upon the support of the Jacobites, whose main object was to prevent a recognition of the Electress Sophia of Hanover as the heiress of the Scottish crown. In 1704, the Queen assented to the Act of Security, which included provisions for the training of a military force for the defence of the country.

The English Parliament recognized the real menace of the Act of Security, which lay in the postponement of the settlement of the succession in Scotland until, possibly, the throne should actually be vacant; the Act contained a provision that, failing an earlier agreement with England, the Scottish estates should, on the death of the Queen without issue, name a successor from the Protestant descendants of the Royal House. The English Ministers determined to bring the question to an immediate issue, and in the spring of 1705 passed what was known as the Aliens Act, which provided that, unless the Scots accepted the Hanoverian Succession by the following Christmas, all Scotsmen should be legally aliens in England and severe restrictions should be laid upon Scottish trade. But the Act also empowered the Queen to nominate English commissioners to meet Scottish commissioners duly authorized to negotiate a Treaty of Union.

The Scottish Parliament met in June, and for a few weeks it seemed that a rupture between the two kingdoms was inevitable, but the project of a Treaty of Union was gaining support, and in September the Parliament not only agreed to the appointment of commissioners but also resolved to leave their selection to the Queen. The latter decision was made on the suggestion of the Jacobite leader, the Duke of Hamilton,

whose motives were, and remain, inexplicable. It went considerably further than the general sense of the House, which had come to believe that a Treaty of Union deserved serious consideration as a solution of the problems of the constitutional and commercial relations between the two kingdoms. The practical effect of Hamilton's motion was to secure that the Scottish commissioners would be selected from the advocates of union and that there would not be an adequate representation of the minority—one Jacobite was, in fact, nominated as a commissioner, but he took little part in the proceedings. A protest was made against the minatory clauses of the English Aliens Act, and these clauses were repealed by the English Parliament in November.

The Joint Commission met in London on April 16 1706, and almost immediately came to an agreement on three main points. Both sides accepted an incorporating union; the English gave guarantees of complete freedom of trade; the Scots undertook to recognize the Electress Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants, as the successors to Anne as Queen of Scots. Further agreements about taxation and the jurisdiction of the Scottish law-courts soon followed. The rock upon which negotiations threatened, for a time, to split was the number of Scottish representatives in the future British House of Commons. The English Commissioners would not, at first, consent to a larger number than thirty-eight, but they ultimately proposed forty-five in the House of Commons, and sixteen representative peers in the House of Lords, and the offer was accepted. These numbers remained, for over a century, a blot on the scheme of union and constituted an ungenerous treatment of the smaller country by the larger. There was also considerable discussion about the capital sum payable by England as an "Equivalent" for the future share of Scotland in the English National Debt; it was fixed at £398,085 10s., and the amount subsequently passed the scrutiny of two distinguished Scottish mathematicians.

On July 22, the Articles of Union were signed and sealed by the Commissioners, and the Scottish Parliament met in October for their discussion.

The Treaty was ratified by the Scottish Estates on January 16, 1707, by 110 votes to 68, over 40 members refraining from voting. There were many indications of popular disapproval, and protests were made by counties, burghs, parishes and presbyteries. But the protests were themselves indications that the anti-Union feeling was diminishing; only 14 counties out of 34, only 19 burghs out of 66, only 60 parishes out of 938, and only 3 presbyteries out of 68, sent anti-Union Addresses to Edinburgh. There was, however, no lack of vehemence in the opposition; troops had to be brought into Edinburgh to quell riots in the streets. Accusations of bribery were brought by the Jacobites, to whose hopes of a restoration the Union was a fatal blow; the charge has been investigated by Hill Burton and Hume Brown, and, at considerable length by Professor James Mackinnon, whose verdict (in his *Union of Scotland and England*) thus sums up the evidence: "The historian, while premising that the charge of bribery rests on mere suspicion and assumption, and believing that the Union was, with some exceptions, the work of honest conviction, is amply justified in saying that there is at least as much evidence that members were bribed to oppose, as there is for the statement that they were bribed to support incorporation."

The Treaty of Union itself contained no guarantees for the maintenance of the Church of Scotland as established in 1707, but Acts for the security of the Churches of Scotland and England were passed by the respective Parliaments and were inserted in their Acts ratifying the Treaty.

On May 1, 1707, the Act of Union came into force, and on October 23, the first Parliament of Great Britain met at Westminster.

CHAPTER IV

POST-UNION POLITICS

THE historical development of Scotland during the eighteenth and subsequent centuries was influenced by many factors of European and even world-wide interest and importance. No longer might it be said that Scotland, almost self-sufficient and immersed in local issues—Crown and Kirk, the Covenants, national defence against England—remained practically impervious to foreign ideas and movements save through the channels of royal marriages and diplomatic entanglements. Of course, pure isolation never had been hers, as witness the great part played by outside forces in the Scottish Reformation, but now, much more than ever before, the nation came into the full stream of world history. General tendencies of the times like increasing respect for law and order, greater security of life and property, rising costs of government to be defrayed by taxation, the ever-widening franchise, separation of the civic and ecclesiastical authorities, mechanization of agricultural, industrial and commercial processes, with all its social *sequelae*, and, latterly, the transference of warfare from a professional and mercenary to a national and "civilian" basis—all such tendencies counted for a great deal in Scotland, and might be studied almost equally well there as elsewhere. To this very considerable extent Scotland's story is simply that of the modern world, and, whilst its value may thus be said to be merely illustrative, it follows that the historical background is a much wider canvas than in preceding centuries.

These universal aspects of recent Scottish history are, however, outweighed in significance by one which is peculiar to itself. The union with England was of

paramount importance to Scotland: it is no exaggeration to say that it conditioned her entire subsequent development. Nor is the interest of our study thereby narrowed or provincialized; on the other hand, it is properly considered as a part of a widespread movement of recent times away from small states towards more comprehensive aggregates—a movement in which the “nation” is sometimes the final goal, sometimes a mere stepping-stone to a wider political entity. It may be that the nation, like the family and tribe before it, is doomed to ultimate extinction as the basis of the state, though it is hard to envisage such a consummation in the world of to-day; and yet it is undeniable that a tendency towards international co-operation and consolidation, whether by way of empire, federation, *entente*, *Bund*, League, covenants, pacts or conferences, has been in evidence for some time and has achieved, in the face of tremendous obstacles, at least partial results. The achievements, it is true, have often rested on military subjugation, as in England’s conquest of Ireland and Wales, Turkish domination of the Balkans, the partition of Poland, the Napoleonic system and the acquisition of overseas colonies, but such compulsory unions have hardly been justified by their results, and one must look elsewhere for really valid experiments. Regal union fell into disrepute through failure in the Scandinavian countries and in Austria-Hungary, but there again the element of compulsion was considerable, and the modern British Commonwealth of Nations—really a regal union, as was implicitly recognized at the Imperial Conference of 1926—may yet confound the critics by overcoming the difficulties inherent in its elastic constitution. The idea of federation, at least as old as the time of Athenian hegemony over the Aegean city-states and revived on a small scale in the Swiss cantons and the Dutch republic, has had a great vogue in recent years, the American constitution having been followed or adapted by the self-governing British dominions, by Soviet Russia, and by the pre-Nazi German republic. Federal schemes of union, unlike

most other methods, have worked tolerably well, though not without friction between central and local authorities and occasional major disturbances, like the American Civil War.

The Union of 1707, however, resembles none of these. England, rich, famous and populous, and Scotland, relatively poor, backward and thinly peopled, after centuries of mutual hostility and intermittent warfare, had been brought under one crown in 1603. Their hundred years' experience of regal union only served, on the whole, to sustain old prejudices. With speech and certain material interests in common, they were separated by tradition, by different political, legal and fiscal systems, and by dissimilar methods of Church government, doctrine, and worship. Faced by the alternative of ever-increasing discord, the statesmen of both countries contrived to achieve unification, with a stronger central government than federation would permit, yet leaving to each country its own Church, laws, electoral system, and even its own national spirit. These last points are vital. After two and a quarter centuries, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland remains the Church as by law established, Scots law still runs, electoral arrangements and local government retain, after all the changes introduced in the name of democracy, some characteristic *differentia*, and the national spirit, considered in the light of modern standards, shows no sign of decay. Such results, flowing from an incorporating union with a much more powerful neighbour, warrant us in concluding that this victory of diplomacy and good sense, whilst congenial to the "modern" outlook, is yet unique.

It will become abundantly clear in the course of this work that the Union not only forms the starting-point for the study of modern Scottish history, but also supplies the main directive force in practically every department of national activity, political, constitutional, social, economic, ecclesiastical and even cultural. In each case there is a distinct line of demarcation between conditions preceding and following the agree-

ments of 1707. In the case of political history this line is necessarily the most clean-cut of all, since here the change was abrupt and radical, whereas on other points continuity with the past was partially guaranteed, or at least only specific or unavoidable alterations were adopted or foreshadowed.

Coming to the subject of Scots politics, however, we at once encounter a difficulty, which may be indicated in the question, was there—and, indeed, is there—anything worthy of being dignified by such a name? For it has been affirmed (notably, of late, by Mr. Walter Elliot, in *A Scotsman's Heritage*) that Scotland has no true politics. The argument is that all the energies and ideas which might have been devoted to the service of the state and to constructive criticism of its working principles were pre-empted by the Kirk and deflected into channels of ecclesiastical endeavour. The modern Scot, as a consequence of his ancestors' lack of interest and experience, has thus no political tradition or philosophy, and we must look to Assembly and Kirk-session for the functioning of his stunted and perverted political faculties.

The thesis, if superficially plausible, will not bear close scrutiny in the light of the events of the past two and a half centuries,—indeed, it is only certain considerations, drawn mainly from early times, which give it an air of verisimilitude. Scotsmen can point to no Magna Carta, no Provisions of Oxford, no Lords Ordainers, even the conflict with the Stewarts produced no Petition of Right or Grand Remonstrance, and, at the Revolution, the Claim of Right was a direct copy, in principle, of the English Bill of Rights. Until then the Scots Parliament remained in fact what both it and the English Parliament were in origin and in theory—the King's Great Council, an assembly of his tenants to advise him, to execute his will, to promulgate his decrees and to condemn his enemies. The Estates awoke to real life in 1560 and again in 1639, only under a powerful religious stimulus, the withdrawal of which drove them back into the congenial apathy of routine.

It is equally undeniable that, from the Reformation to the Revolution, assemblies, presbyteries and kirk-sessions were focal points of nation-wide interest, where violent partisanship found its natural field, and towards which loyalty, affection and respect streamed from the most remote hamlets of the country.

But to carry over these considerations into the eighteenth and subsequent centuries is to misread the whole tone of national life and to overlook the great changes wrought in it by the Revolution settlement. After the deposition of James VII and II, with the atrophy of covenanting militancy, the comparative security of the Establishment, and the development of a kindlier, more humane spirit, it became possible for the nation at large to turn to more worldly affairs. Not for nothing does Hume Brown use the phrase "the age of secular interests." Further, the Claim of Right, if hardly an indigenous plant, thrived surprisingly well, and Parliament, with an alien theory of sovereignty thrust upon it, liked its novel status and reflected the country's needs and views. It is true that there were only a few years of life left to it, and that the transference of the legislature from Edinburgh might have put an end to the newly acquired political habit, but other considerations were at work to keep it alive. Thus, if there were to be a union, must not all energies be directed towards the conservation of Scottish interests? If Parliament were largely composed of Englishmen, must one not be doubly watchful on Scotland's behalf? Moreover, the claim and counter-claim of Hanoverian and Stewart had a special connection with Scotland, and complete detachment from this issue became difficult and sometimes impossible. Later, when the eighteenth-century "Enlightenment" led to a violent assertion of the rights of man, Scotsmen could not remain indifferent. And, after the genius of Sir Walter Scott had inspired a new zest for Scottish historical studies, the adjacent field of political endeavour must be beneficially affected, especially after reforms had given the ordinary man his chance.

Conditions were thus favourable for the growth of political ideas from the Revolution onwards, and, if Scotland has nothing to compare to the great traditions of England, where the Whig-Tory conflict may even be traced back to a remote ancestry in the thirteenth-century rivalry of constitutionalism and royal autocracy, one can go too far in the way of negative assertion. It is beside the point to plead that some of the forces which counted in her late-maturing public life had a religious origin and were for long intertwined with, and obscured by, purely religious issues, because in the fullness of time they did become thoroughly independent and secularized. Nor is it relevant to animadvert on the ineffectiveness or lack of continuity of these forces, since it is assuredly of the very essence of political man, as indeed of man in general, to be inconsistent, diverse and multiform, and the rapidly changing problems presented to Scottish politicians, amateur and professional, in the last 240 years are sufficient apology for the transformations which occurred.

During the period under review, three several streams of political thought and feeling may be detected. It is not easy to name or define them in a manner at once distinctive and sufficiently elastic, but, using each term in its least specialized, most comprehensive and non-party sense, we might call them the nationalist, the unionist, and the radical sentiments. Obviously, all three may be found in almost any state: nationalism, the cherishing above all else of the interests of one's own country, unionism, the advocacy of the superior advantages of international consolidation, and radicalism, distrust of authority and the will to reform drastically, are clearly not the prerogative of Scotsmen. Nor is any one of them at any time the monopoly of one faction or policy; most Scotsmen have some share of at least two of them, and it is possible for all three to occur simultaneously in one person—most conspicuously is this exemplified in Lord Rosebery, who fought with zeal and ardour for the Scottish Secretaryship, for Imperialism, and for House of Lords reform.

If these political sentiments were not clearly expressed until the late seventeenth century, this was due to the overwhelmingly clerical colour of life and thought before that time, for their roots lie buried in the past. We can find all three authoritatively expounded in the literature of the sixteenth century. The nationalist sentiment, at once evoked and embittered by the long struggle with England, is powerfully voiced in the words, loaded with hate and patriotism, of the anonymous author of *The Complaynt of Scotland*, written about 1548. He warns his fellow-countrymen against "the ardent desire and the disordinat averisius affectione that Inglismen hes to be violent dominatours of oure cuntray," and asks "To quhat effect suld ony Scottisman gif credens or til adhere til Inglesmen?" "The peoples are incompatible—" there is nocht tua nations undir the firmament that ar mair contrar and different fra uthirs nor is Inglismen and Scottismen, quhoubeit that thai be within ane ile, and nychtbours, and of ane langage." War is bluntly advocated,—“ye have ane just titil to refuse pace, and til intend cruel weyr contrar your enemies.” While this insensate Anglophobia could not survive the constant warfare that gave it birth, nationalism, once aroused, remained a potent force, always tinged with something of distrust of England.

More long-sighted views did assert themselves, and already in 1521, as we have seen, the historian John Major had formulated a "unionist" creed, based on community of interests and aiming at unification through marriage-alliances. Though his view was certainly that of an inconsiderable minority, he denounced the opposite policy—"And any man, be he Englishman or Scot, who will here say the contrary, he, I say, has no eye to the welfare of his country and the common good." Forty years later, the two nations were drawn together by the French menace, clearly visualized by Knox: "Yff England wald foirsie thair awin comoditie, yea, if they did consider the danger quhairin thei thameselfis stand, thai wald nott suffer

us to perishe in this quarrell ; for France hath decreit no less the conquest of England then of Scotland." In the next generation Major's wish was fulfilled, and unionist sentiment ultimately became strong enough to realize his dream of a " Greater Britain."

Radicalism was of later growth. The Scottish Reformation, a root-and-branch project which could only succeed by overcoming the resistance of Crown and Church, necessarily involved the repudiation of established authority in so far as it hampered true religion, and it was easy, perhaps inevitable, for this special form of defiance to change to a political principle of general application. Knox was very outspoken—" yf . . . Princes exceed thair boundis . . . it is no doubt but thei may be resisted, evin by power." Authority in itself meant little to him—" Neither can long processe of tyme justifie an errour, neither can the multitude of such as follow it chaunge the nature of the same," but his subversive theories had always a religious motive—" this is that equalitie which is betwixt the Kinges and subjectes . . . to wit, that as the one is obliged to beleve in heart, and with mouth to confesse, the Lord Jesus to be the onlic Saviour of the world, so also is the other." His contemporary, George Buchanan, did, however, strike a distinctly secular note in voicing a theory of government which was to come to full maturity only with John Locke, more than a century later. " Kings were made not for themselves but for the people." " A mutual compact subsists between a king and his subjects," because " it was for the express purpose of maintaining justice and equity that he was invested with the magistracy." Rebellion is easily justified—" If the people can ordain a law, and create a magistrate, what hinders it to pass sentence upon him, and to appoint judges for his trial ? " " Upon the dissolution of the tie which connected the king with his people, whatever right belonged by agreement to him who dissolves the compact is forfeited." If " advanced " views of this sort had few immediate or practical results, a not dissimilar outlook coloured the philosophy of some

of the extremists of the Covenant ; in any case, Scottish radicalism had vigour and vitality, though political arrangements barred its natural outlet until the nineteenth century.

Not long before the Union, with the whole nation responsive to leaders far above the Scottish average in talent and distinction, these political sentiments, hitherto vague or inchoate, were organized and recognized in parties, creeds and programmes. The most influential group was the Court Party, or official Whigs, to whom union meant so much that one of their ablest chiefs, the Earl of Stair, virtually killed himself through over-strenuous advocacy of it, leaving Argyll, Queensberry and the rest to face the task of making it a working success. And yet it would be a serious mistake to suppose that Anglophile zeal blinded these statesmen to purely national interests ; as their latter conduct showed, their ideas were a blend of both sets of sympathies. Fervid nationalism was the keynote of the Country Party, the regular "opposition," but here too there was an admixture of the other tendency, for a large section, convinced in the long run, mainly through the agency of Roxburghe, of the desirability of union, transformed itself, under the picturesque and exotic title of the *Squadron Volante*, into what was really an unofficial Whig party, providing the nucleus of an alternative administration. The unconvinced remainder, regarding themselves as the champions of true nationalism, were driven back upon Jacobitism, but, hampered by the timidity, instability and rivalry of their chiefs, let slip all opportunity for decisive action, until, with union and the Hanoverian succession both accomplished, they were forced to become either sentimentalists or conspirators. Finally, there was only one prominent radical at the time, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, republican and fanatical patriot, who asserted such maxims as the subservience of Crown to Parliament ; but for the most part his theories were too fantastic and erratic to be taken in all seriousness. Hence Parliament House's legacy to Westminster

comprised three parties, two of them, the not very different Court party and *Squadrone*, holding by a belief in the Union tempered by a lively sense of Scotland's own interests, and the third, the Jacobites, sincere or half-fearful apostles of their particular version of nationalism.

The last seven years of Queen Anne's reign demanded watchfulness, and the uneasy opening of Anglo-Scottish partnership goes far to prove that union was in one way or another distasteful to a majority of both peoples; only the pressure of circumstances had made it at all acceptable. Some of the quarrels that arose must be considered later in connection with constitutional changes or with ecclesiastical developments, but all were ready matter for political propaganda. As early as the summer of 1707 fiscal difficulties over the customs and the Equivalent had caused some resentment, and more appeared during the sittings of the first United Parliament in 1707-08. The act for abolishing the Scottish Privy Council and increasing the powers of the justices of the peace was opposed by Queensberry and his followers, as also by Godolphin's ministry generally. But the *Squadrone* supported the measure (which was easily carried), and objections must be discounted on the ground that the Privy Council, as the governmental weapon for controlling elections, had been very useful to cliques of ruling nobles.

Meanwhile the Jacobites were restive but indecisive. There had been rumours of a rising in 1707, but the only real plans were those of the French king. His credulous emissaries spoke of universal dissatisfaction, but the issue showed that neither leaders nor followers were as yet prepared to rise. The exiles abroad and the conspirators at home were each disposed to wait until their allies were definitely committed, and, when a French fleet set out in March 1708, with troops and stores, nothing was to be done until a successful landing should be effected. Wretched seamanship prejudiced the venture, and the English, pouncing on the French ships in the Firth of Forth, scared them back home

without a fight. None of the Jacobite leaders burned their fingers over the affair and all that it achieved was a revulsion of feeling in favour of the Court party, which, at the Parliamentary election of 1708, gained from both *Squadrons* and Jacobites and got commanding majorities of both peers and commoners. The new Parliament, by substituting the English treason law for that of Scotland, united all Scottish parties in an unsuccessful opposition, but here again there was an adulteration of motives, since nobles convicted of treason would no longer be immune from territorial loss.

It might be said that thus far, if there had been some tactlessness, friction had been due to transient problems of adjustment : common sense and a long view were all that were needed to liquidate difficulties. Towards the end of 1710, however, court intrigues, ministerial changes and another general election installed in power a Tory government and a Tory Parliament, thereby placing Scotland at the mercy of an unsympathetic and anti-unionist party. The Scottish elections greatly reduced the Court party, almost wiped out the *Squadrons*, and gave the Jacobites and Tories control. In less than four years enough was done to alienate virtually the whole nation. The Greenshields decision in favour of Scots Episopacy was perhaps justifiable, both in its constitutional and ecclesiastical aspects, the Act of Toleration of 1712 was sound in principle, but both measures were detested because the attitude of the Tories, then engaged in limiting English dissenters' liberties, was notoriously neither tolerant nor impartial. In the same year, the restoration of lay patronage, thought to have been finally abolished in 1690, roused fears for the Establishment itself and shook the strong unionist faith of the Presbyterian clergy and laity. Though it is far from true that nothing good can be said for patronage, and though much of the subsequent strife and suffering had deeper roots than any parliamentary statute, the Act was still a breach of the Treaty in letter and spirit.

IN 1711, the Lords' ruling, in the case of the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, that no British title could confer on a Scots noble the right to a seat in the House, was deeply and justly resented as a national affront. The imposition, in 1711, of an export duty on the staple Scottish manufacture—linen—and the formulation, in 1713, of the principle of equal taxation for Scottish malt (made largely from low-grade "bere") and for the rich barley-malt of England, hardly implied "due regard to the circumstances and abilities" of the northern nation. Disillusionment and disgust led to the curious and anomalous peers' debate of 1713, when the English Tories barely contrived to defend the Union against an attack by its framers, the English Whigs and the Scots nobles. The motion for repeal, in so far as it was anything more than a tactical move to make party capital out of unpopular governmental measures, was less a repudiation of Union than a vote of censure on the Tories' mischievous abuse of it. Nemesis came for them in the following year with, in rapid succession, the miscarriage of Bolingbroke's Jacobite plots, the death of the queen, the peaceful accession of George I, his contemptuous dismissal of all the ministers, the formation of Townshend's Whig government, and a great Whig victory in both English and Scottish elections.

With the Whigs in power for the next forty-five years and Toryism utterly discredited, the Jacobites' position was critical. Denied all hope of peacefully realizing their aims, and virtually barred from public life, they must decide whether the cause was worth rebellion. To many of them, as the event showed, it was so. The story of the risings, around which has grown a literature as great in volume and in depth of feeling as about Queen Mary, is too well known to call for more than summary criticism.

Several circumstances favoured the 'Fifteen—lingering, if evanescent, dissatisfaction with the effects of Union, Tory chagrin over lost power, the dashed hopes of a last-minute declaration for the Pretender.

Actual results were disappointing. Mar's army, unable to move far beyond its base at Perth, fought only the ingloriously drawn battle of Sheriffmuir with Argyll's much smaller force, and had to give way when the melting of the snows allowed the well-equipped loyal troops to advance. The risings in Cumberland and Dumfriesshire, from which much was hoped, found the country apathetic or hostile and, though reinforced by the column under Mackintosh of Borlum detached by Mar, came by way of a rather aimless wandering to a fighting finish at Preston. The Chevalier did not arrive until his dispirited army was on the way to its dispersal around Montrose and Aberdeen, but it has yet to be shown that his delay was a material loss to his cause. The attempt of 1719 was a side-issue of the Anglo-Spanish war and, in the absence of any special domestic grievance, appealed only to the irreconcilable clans of the west. Even they were none too enthusiastic and wholly in the dark as to methods and aims, and, at Glenshiel, Wightman's small force of regulars and loyal clansmen scattered them at the first charge, the Highlanders dispersing and the unfortunate Spanish soldiers capitulating.

Even after long internal peace, marked by the building of Wade's roads, there were some points in favour of a rising in 1745. The French, again at war with Britain, promised help, though the expedition of 1744, on lines similar to the fiasco of 1708, did not augur too well. The Lowlands were becoming less and less martial, and the loyal clans are said to have obeyed the disarming acts, while the unruly ones retained their effective weapons. But the marked success of this belated and unlikely venture offers a challenging contrast to earlier failures. Several reasons suggest themselves. The French did send some money and supplies and a few troops, though this help was not material. More important was the government's initial slackness. The raising of loyal volunteer forces was forbidden, and this, in view of the prevalent pacific habits and the war-time absence of most of the

regular troops, made the rebels' path easier. Cope's defence of Scotland was as bad as it could be. Instead of holding Stirling as a rallying-point and confining the rising to north of Forth, as Argyll had done thirty years before, he went (too late in any case) into the Highlands, timorously avoided the clans when there, and opened up the road to the south. The Prestonpans defeat and flight were almost venial in comparison with strategy of this kind. Above all, the Jacobites had just the right leaders to make for brilliant if temporary success—a dashing leader in the Prince, an able administrator in Murray of Broughton, and a really good general in Lord George Murray. Their apparent success was heightened by the march to Derby, though this flattered the Jacobite strength, since it depended on avoiding the two superior armies opposed to it.

The Jacobite area during both risings may be defined as including most of Ross, almost all Inverness-shire, the hilly interior of Banffshire and Aberdeenshire, the Braes of Angus, the Perthshire highlands, the desolate tract around the Braes of Balquhiddar, and parts of northern Argyll. Thence came the Jacobite regulars—Mackenzies, all the mainland Macdonalds, Camerons, the Clan Chattan, Gordons, Oglivies, Murrays, Robertsons of Struan, Drummonds, Macgregors, Stuarts of Appin, and their clients and dependents. Clans on the fringes were of doubtful allegiance, like the Frasers, held back by Simon in 1715 and treacherously sent out under his son in 1745. This governmental loss was offset by Duncan Forbes of Culloden's success in restraining the Macdonalds of Sleat and the Macleods, who were out in the 'Fifteen. Grants and Macleans rose only as irresponsible individuals or small septs. Outside there was indifference or hostility. Inverness and Inveraray were loyalist strongholds. Sutherlands, Munroes, Rosses and Mackays were steadfast in their allegiance, holding Inverness during the greater part of each rising, and enabling Lord Reay in the second to bring off a brilliant coup which meant nothing less than disaster to the Jacobites—the seizure of a French sloop

with £12,000 intended for the Prince and the defeat of the Earl of Cromartie's endeavours to recover the booty. The Campbells, of course, were equally staunch, Lord Islay being strong enough in 1715 to discourage the western clans from attacking Inveraray, and later sending reinforcements to his brother at Stirling, whilst in the 'Forty-five Lord Loudoun raised 2,000 Highlanders for service in the north. The towns and the Lowlands were almost uniformly anti-Jacobite. True, the Master of Sinclair, Lord Elcho and a few others provided squadrons of cavalry, but this arm, not very effective in 1715, never numbered 500 in 1745, and by Culloden had dwindled almost to vanishing point. Even the feeble southern rising of 1715 had no counterpart in the later enterprise; with the Lowlands in his power, Charles Edward got only the Edinburgh Regiment, composed of volunteers and deserters from Cope. Glasgow was very loyal, sending three battalions to Argyll at Stirling, and, along with Paisley, Dumbarton, and neighbouring places, equipping the Loch Lomond expedition against the outlawed Macgregors, to whom any civil commotion meant scope for terrorizing the country. The Fife townsfolk resisted the Jacobite cess-gatherers, and the burning of Auchterarder, Crieff, Blackford and other villages in dead of winter, to impede Argyll's advance, rallied civilian sentiment against the perpetrators of the stupid and pointless outrage. Less martial in 1745, Lowlanders still showed where their sympathies lay. Again financial straits led to intensely unpopular taxation. Baggot's Hussars were hated in Aberdeen and Banff for their horse and money levies, and Glasgow parted most unwillingly with its thousands and its supplies of clothing. Even Lord George Murray admits—"were it not for our maroding, I believe we would be welcome guests." England was utterly barren soil. Mr. Forster's petty rising of 1715 was doomed from the start, and the only result of the invasion in 1745 was the recruiting of the Manchester Regiment of about 300 men, foolishly left in Carlisle to be mopped up by Cumberland.

Jacobite sentiment was thus strong only in the central Highlands. Agents spoke of raising between 30,000 and 40,000 soldiers, but it is doubtful if the total adult male population of the area was as high as this (Cumberland reckoned all the clans' fighting strength at just under 20,000—including 6,000 loyal men), so that the calculation probably rested on illusory hopes of the Lowlands. Actually, Mar's numbers, if they ever totalled 12,000, soon fell off, while at no time could Charles Edward command a force of even that size. He had about 7,500 for the English march, under 9,000 at Falkirk, and perhaps 5,000 at Culloden. Desertion, like finance, was a real problem to the Jacobites. The western clans, on the way from Inveraray to join Mar, are said to have dropped from 5,000 to 2,500. The Macdonalds of Keppoch, turning out *after* Sheriffmuir in hopes of plunder, "went home, the greatest part of them, in a few days after, and not long ere all were gone." Many clansmen, to whom war meant a sharp battle followed by the capture of booty, were not prepared to serve, ill-fed and irregularly paid, in a long, hard, indecisive winter campaign; hence the great leakage from Perth. In the 'Forty-five things were even worse. The Atholl Brigade could shrink from its nominal 1,000 to 400, the Glengarry Regiment was swollen by other units up to 1,200 only to drop later to 500, and the Edinburgh Regiment of 450 mustered 200 at Culloden. Many of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, a clan with none too savoury a reputation, having come to the raising of the standard on August 19, went off, we are told, only eight days later.

The explanation is plain. Most clans were military units, ready for common and compulsory service; some, like Murrays and Gordons, were feudalized, and in this case the tenant's obligations were technically even stronger, since his chief was also his landlord. In either case, the voluntary element was negligible, and the muster was backed by potent threats. "For God's sake," wrote Lord George Murray to Atholl, "cause some effectual method be taken about the deserters; I

would have their houses and crops destroyed for an example to others, and themselves punished in a most rigorous manner." All depended on the chiefs. In 1715, the Frasers, uncertain which side to take, as soon as they heard Simon was for the government, left the rebel army, and most of the Glengarry men went home after Falkirk, because of the accidental death of one of the sons of their chief. If the average clansman was not the willing champion of a cherished ideal, neither was he necessarily a hardy, powerful, big fellow in the prime of life. The latest evidence, presented in Sir Bruce Seton and Mrs. Arnot's *Prisoners of the 'Forty-five*, suggests an average height of five feet four inches, which compares with a war-time conscript figure of five feet six inches in the twentieth century. A six-foot Jacobite was expressly a "large man." The rebels ranged from boys of sixteen to men over seventy, and included some who were blind, deaf, dumb, and even idiots. By modern recruiting tests the army would fall, on the whole, into category B rather than A.

It is true that some of these criticisms would apply to units on the government side, like Loudoun's Highland levies, but this point is not relevant to the consideration of Jacobitism as a political force. What is significant is the certainty that the romantic aspects of the movement are largely apocryphal; one must seek them in the songs of Lady Nairne rather than in the contemporary Atholl papers. The chieftains, the mainstay of the risings, included not only the brave and selfless Lochiel, but also Lovat who strove to keep safe while sending the clan out under his son. There was, indeed, little enough to inspire such devotion and loyalty as appeared at their best after Culloden. Mutual distrust cancelled out the good qualities of the leaders, and adversity revealed in Charles Edward the characteristic defects of his family. Weak, self-willed obstinacy led him to garrison Carlisle, to besiege Stirling Castle, to offend the chiefs by favouring unworthy Irish officers. Instead of "dying sword in hand at the head of his brave Highlanders," he chose to abandon his army and

skulk behind the skirts of Highland chivalry and hospitality. Despite the attempts to exploit the foreignness of the reigning dynasty, it must have been painfully obvious to all concerned that the discredited exiles could do no better; the Stewarts, restored with French, Spanish, or any other help available, would have been equally alien in blood, and even more so in outlook. Moreover, the government itself was emphatically not alien; it was in the hands of English and Scottish Whigs, and, with all its faults, no ruling body has ever been more uncompromisingly British in spirit and method than the eighteenth-century Whig aristocracy.

If the response to the call came from chiefs rather than clans, that response must still be accounted for. It is worth mentioning that in the imperfect returns of prisoners in the 'Forty-five are the names of about ten Episcopalian clergymen, mostly Lowlanders, and about fifteen Catholic priests, mostly Highlanders; there is no word of a Presbyterian minister. Either deep resentment at Protestant, and more especially Presbyterian, dominance was one of the causes of rebellion, or the type of men who rose tended to be Romanist or Episcopalian by religious affiliation. The second alternative seems the likelier, for the urge to take up arms was largely political. What grievances, what ambitions, lay behind this urge? It has been maintained, in one of the most recent works on the subject (Miss Audrey Cunningham's *The Loyal Clans*), that the Stewart claim of divine hereditary right was championed by the "patriarchal" clans, as a familiar, intelligible, beneficial principle, as offering an analogy to their own system of rule, and as a buttress against the encroachments of "feudal" authority, from which crown and clan had alike suffered. But it is a fact that both "patriarchal" and "feudal" clans came out (the distinction is never too clear between them); it is also plain that the position of both was anachronistic and would soon be reconsidered; and the conclusion is inescapable that the chief enemy of the revolting

Highlanders was what we may call eighteenth-century "modernism." Hereditary rights, class privileges, social barriers were losing or changing ground, while the reign of law, personal security, material well-being were advancing, and the whole process depended on the three great achievements of the Whigs—the Revolution settlement, the Union, and the Hanoverian succession. Inevitably the chieftains regretted Stewart royal autocracy in Church and State, which had given them their cue in the localities, and so strove to recover what had slipped alike from royal, feudal and patriarchal grasp into more equable distribution among people generally.

During the reigns of George I and II, Jacobitism rather than Parliament was the focus of Scottish political interest. It was so, because, on the one hand, the Jacobites aimed at nothing less than a revolution, and this, if unlikely to succeed, was at least a live issue, whilst, on the other, Union was established, the Protestant succession assured, the Tories rendered harmless and the Whigs in a commanding position, so that no such mass attack on Scotland's rights as had taken place between 1710 and 1714 was at all probable, and the tempo of public life was consequently slower and calmer. The Scottish people and its representatives were neither sufficiently powerful nor sufficiently interested to play much of a part in British politics and were only roused over their own concerns. Thus, secondary adjustments of the Union, the imposition of fresh taxation, and the punitive measures which followed all the rebellions, furnished the sole occasions which seemed to them to call for vigilance. It must also be remembered that in Scottish parliamentary life the administration had been all-important; it could confer benefits and make bargains, and therefore was to be supported rather than opposed. Now, with the Scottish members in a small minority at St. Stephen's, and the government of the day controlling patronage, posts and pensions, their own and their country's welfare seemed to them to point to the advisability of

making a general rule of lining up with the ministry. They could still, when their prejudices were ruffled, "bolt the party," even led by the Scottish Secretary or the Lord Advocate (who would not necessarily lose office on that account), but they did vote Whig fairly consistently as long as the Whigs were in power. Their passive support (despite the constitutional argument in favour of "weighting" a majority verdict) naturally caused bitter resentment in the ranks of the English opposition, and may have given rise to the almost universal tradition of Scottish meanness and servility. The tendency towards subservience was increased by the rivalry between the two Scots parties which were prepared to support the Whigs at a price. The Argathelians or Court party, led by the second Duke of Argyll and his brother Lord Islay (who became third Duke), were now separated from the *Squadron Volante* rather by personal ambition than by questions of policy. This circumstance did not invest their manœuvres with dignity or significance, but at least it can be said that the English Whigs were in like condition—so undeniably the masters that Townshend could struggle with Stanhope, Carteret with Walpole, over place rather than principle.

For eleven years of George I's reign the *Squadron* were the more favoured party, Montrose (1714-15) and Roxburgh (1716-25) being in turn Scottish Secretaries. There was fairly general agreement among Scotsmen that the punishments meted out to those implicated in the 'Fifteen were too harsh. Most of the chiefs and nobles had made good their escape, and only Kenmure and Derwentwater, two of the leaders of the southern rising, were executed. Acts for disarming the Highlands and forfeiting the rebels' estates were passed, but virtually the whole nation, including judges and lawyers, offered a passive resistance to the attempts to punish rank-and-file Jacobites and to make good the government's right to the rents. If national pride, coupled with suspicion of England, can be pleaded on behalf of the Scots in this matter, it was only abject submissiveness

to the ministry that induced Argyll, Roxburghe and the other fourteen peers to support Stanhope's unsuccessful plan of perpetuating the Whig oligarchy, at the expense of the Commons, through the notorious Peerage Bill of 1719, by which England's quota was to be fixed at its existing number, while that of Scotland should be altered from sixteen representative to twenty-five hereditary peers.

Walpole's long tenure of power (1721-42) had a special significance for Scotland, where his talents were overlooked in the general hostility to his fiscal measures, for the idea of heavy indirect taxation was still repugnant. On two occasions discontent led to rioting and bloodshed. In 1725 the Prime Minister insisted on new revenue, whether by beer-excite or malt-duty, to the amount of £20,000 annually. In Glasgow the mob, having wrecked the house of the local M.P. (suspected of favouring the detested impost), attacked the soldiers and forced them to fire, while in Edinburgh the brewers struck work as a protest; in both cases Duncan Forbes, the new Lord Advocate, was largely responsible for inducing the people to submit, albeit in bitterness of heart. The *Squadron* being involved in the national resistance, Walpole sundered his connection with it and dismissed Roxburghe from the Secretaryship. Argyll and Islay were henceforth the men who mattered in Scots affairs, their skill in "managing" elections proving a real asset to Walpole. In 1736 it was the turn of the Edinburgh mob, the very orderliness of whose proceedings in the Porteous riot argues a considered rejection of the theory that the military were entitled to fire on those who sympathized with persons engaged in such a harmless avocation as smuggling. The government, despite opposition from Argyll and Forbes, wished to penalize the Corporation of Edinburgh heavily for its complicity or slackness, but parliamentary concern for municipal rights obtained substantial alterations in the bill, so that the city was merely fined £2,000 and its provost disqualified. Walpole's efficient work, including the construction of

Wade's roads and forts to open up the Highlands, was forgotten by the people, Argyll sided with his English and Scottish critics, the 1741 election was a great triumph for the *Squadron*, and the revived Scottish Secretaryship was given to their leader, Tweeddale, in 1742, when Carteret's ministry took office.

The means adopted to ensure internal peace after the 'Forty-five provoked further dissatisfaction. Exception could hardly be taken to the execution of leaders like Lovat or Balmerino, and nothing but contempt could be felt for the double traitor Murray of Broughton, whose miserable life was spared. Entirely in agreement, too, with reason and progress was the major constitutional reform effected, the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, which broke the too often rebellious forces of feudalism. Common sense dictated the stricter supervision of the Episcopal clergy, whose loyalty to the reigning house had been ambiguous, though the Act of 1748, requiring them to be ordained by an Anglican bishop, hampered their legitimate activities and put a stigma of inferiority on their sect. The disarming of the Highlands was necessarily more severe than on previous occasions, though the statute of 1752 disposing of the forfeited estates—their revenues went to improving Highland farms, setting up schools and planting forests—was a credit both to its author, Lord Advocate Grant, and to the British Parliament. But the belated offer of a few material benefits could not efface the memory of Cumberland's incredible atrocities and further cause for regret was given by the proscription of the tartan, as a badge of sedition and an essentially military garb. The truth is that Englishmen did not realize that Jacobitism after 1746, far from being a live issue, was a mere sentiment or perhaps oftener a fashionable but hypocritical pose, and their distrust led them to turn down Forbes's plan of enrolling the clansmen for foreign service under English colonels and Highland officers. It was almost by accident that the Black Watch, patrols of loyal Highlanders incorporated in 1726 to help in Wade's

work, reached full regimental stature in time to play a distinguished and gallant part in the Battle of Fontenoy (May 1745,) and it was left to Pitt to make the best use of the splendid material available. Not until 1782 was Highland dress legalized, and the corollary of repression is seen in the great exodus, during the generation after Culloden, from the glens to the American colonies, especially to North Carolina, where Flora Macdonald, among many others, took part in a second lost cause by declaring for King George in the Cross Creek rising, which was suppressed in February 1776. Suspicions of Scotsmen's loyalty were responsible for the refusal to give them a militia, like that established in England in 1757, but in fairness it must be admitted that there was no unanimity on the subject, counter-arguments dwelling on the expense involved, the disturbance of civilian life, and doubts as to the supply of gentlemen officers.

With the final suppression of Jacobitism there supervened for Scotland a period of deepest political apathy, the more surprising that in other ways this half-century was perhaps the most brilliant in all her history. Defective constitutional machinery, operating sluggishly in the absence of any stirring cause, left the nation at large almost voiceless on public affairs. Meanwhile, with the change over from Whig rule to that of the Tories under George III, the Scots M.P.s transferred their support to the new favourites. This step was made easier through George's choice of the Earl of Bute as his first Prime Minister and the man to break the Whig tradition. Personal dislike of Scotsmen grew as positive distrust of their allegiance waned, and this in turn brought them closer to the king in his autocratic policies. The bulk of the nation as well as its representatives approved of the war undertaken against the American colonists in 1775, and the one issue that evoked the furious and hostile interest of both was the proposal to "emancipate the Roman Catholics. Riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1779 revealed the depth of popular prejudice and anticipated

by a year a similar outburst in London—the Lord George Gordon riots. Otherwise the Scottish members were unmoved by the proceedings of Lord North and his royal master, which so deeply provoked the English Whigs, and, when Dunning's famous motion against the power of the crown was tabled in 1780, only seven of the forty-five voted for it, twenty-three were against it, while fifteen did not trouble to attend!

The appointment of Henry Dundas as Lord Advocate in 1775 brought to the front the classic example of Scots "managers." Marshalling his fellow-members behind the government, he was able to disregard the minority sentiment against the war of 1775–83, during which loyal enthusiasm was keen enough to cause volunteer companies to be raised for home defence and to bring Scottish recruits to the army at a rate which has been estimated as 10,000 per year. After the fall of North in 1782, Scotsmen were indifferent to English party manœuvres, arguing that, since the King's government must be carried on, it was their place to make what arrangements were possible with the group in power. Dundas proved his foresight by following Pitt, to whom his almost unchallenged control of forty-five members rendered him invaluable, and their close co-operation ushered in a half-century of Tory dominance in Britain.

Yet there are signs that towards the end of the eighteenth century part of the nation was beginning to stir from its political lethargy. Radical opinions, driven underground, had never quite disappeared, and the social changes, often entailing hardship and want, consequent upon the agrarian and industrial revolutions, were congenial subjects for the questing mind. Some of the newer types of workers, no longer dependent on the privileged landlords, were noticeably of a critical or even republican temper and as early as 1724 agrarian enclosures in the south-west had led to an uprising of the evicted tenants who were "Levellers" in more senses than one. Fifty years later the war with the American colonists had inspired some people

to take the unpopular Whig side, not always, as in the case of the Glasgow tobacco lords, from motives of self-interest. Moreover, very soon after this, the "wild" or Evangelical party in the Church began to make headway against the "Moderates," and it was not impossible that its rather subversive spirit should get to work in secular as well as religious matters; at all events, one chief controversial issue, patronage, was notoriously a point of overlapping between civil and ecclesiastical authority. It is a sign of the times that, during the second last decade of the century, much agitation arose over the question of parliamentary and municipal reform, meetings were held throughout the country, pamphlets published and corresponding societies formed. Pitt and Dundas both professed sympathy and might have ultimately conceded the people's demands, had not the course of events blighted their liberal tendencies. There was thus a distinct revival of interest in public affairs prior to the year 1789.

At first, in Scotland as in England, even educated and influential people followed the French Revolution with approval. In 1790, the Dundee Whig Club addressed a letter of congratulation, constitutional rather than iconoclastic in tone, to the National Assembly. The impetus to domestic reform was considerable, problems of political principle became of all-absorbing interest, and Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*, greatest of counter-blasts to Burke's criticisms, found hosts of admiring readers. But before long the ever-increasing tempo of the changes in France stiffened the attitude of the British authorities, and the whole idea of reform, envisioned as the prelude to revolution, was frowned upon by landowners, members of parliament, lawyers, officials and the governing classes generally. After 1791, with Dundas installed at the Home Office (then responsible for Scotland) and his nephew, Robert Dundas, Lord Advocate, there could be no effective parliamentary opposition to the "Dundas despotism." Accordingly, from the start of its activities in 1792, the

Society of the Friends of the People, advocating the constitutional achievement of such aims as manhood suffrage, and holding popular meetings in many towns, was bound to meet with disfavour from moneyed persons, and this in turn played into the hands of the wilder elements of what was in the main an orderly and law-abiding organization. In 1793, the outbreak of war with France and the inception of the Reign of Terror supplied the little more that was required for public tension to find relief in persecution, but only craven fear can explain the wanton travesties of justice and the monstrous sentences imposed in the trials of "Friends" and people of like mind. Late in 1793, Thomas Muir, a prominent lawyer with progressive views, was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, while a Methodist clergyman called Palmer was given seven years; the penal system then in use was such as to ensure untold misery, privation and exposure for the sufferers. Early in 1794, three further sentences of fourteen years' transportation were pronounced after farcical sedition trials, and, later in the same year, two death sentences were imposed (though a reprieve was granted in one case) for what was deemed treason. The legislature helped the courts in the vile work by refusing to discriminate between anarchist hooliganism and orderly demands for much-needed change. In 1794, the English Habeas Corpus Act and the Scottish Act of 1701 "for preventing Wrongous Imprisonment" were suspended, to give officials a freer hand in seizing suspects. Acts of 1795 defining treason and sedition gave the government virtually unhampered control of public meetings.

A small minority of the well-to-do now began to feel that repression had gone too far, and when, in 1796, his Whig sympathies caused the deposition of Henry Erskine from the deanship of the Faculty of Advocates (in theory an annual office but practically bestowed for life), the opposition gained an eminent lawyer as a leader. Henceforth the Scottish Whigs, under Erskine, Francis Jeffrey and some of the Popular party in the

Church, set to work to undermine Tory influence, attracting to their ranks more and more of the thoughtful and progressive members of all callings, but especially the legal. The fact that they had a considered policy of constitutional reform, where their opponents had none, told in their favour, but their day of triumph was still far off.

Fears of French invasion at last induced Parliament to pass a Scots Militia Act in 1797, but the lower classes, embittered, sullen and hostile, suspected a move to press them into foreign service ; significant in their eyes was the exemption of the members of the Volunteer Companies, who were mostly of the wealthier classes. Several riots occurred, eleven were killed at Tranent by the military, four sentences of fourteen years' transportation were imposed, but the position was ultimately accepted. Meanwhile, since agitation had been driven underground, secret societies were formed, notably the " United Scotsmen," allied to the United Irishmen who had been clamouring for independence since 1791. The leader of the Fife, Forfar and Perth groups, George Mealmaker, was seized and condemned to the usual fourteen years of Botany Bay. Never exceeding a few hundreds in membership, the societies were suppressed in 1799 and are not heard of after 1802, by which time a better tone had come over public life.

The years of repression coincided with the closing stages in the life of Scotland's greatest poet. Notoriously a creature of moods and impulses, he was profoundly stirred by the new democratic spirit abroad and even at the height of reactionary Francophobia (and it should be remembered that Burns as well as Scott was interested in the Volunteer movement), his Chauvinistic sentiments :

" For never but by British hands
Maun British wrangs be righted."—

did not blind him to the claims of the masses :

" . . . while we sing *God save the King*,
We'll ne'er forget the People."

But *Does Haughty Gaul Invasion threat*? a topical and transient piece which does full credit neither to the poet nor to the man, need not be taken too seriously; nor should we pay much attention to his part in the Whig-Tory conflicts of the time, since, with "the warmest admiration for individuals of both parties," he either affected the pose of an onlooker:

"He sees and hears the distant war,
A cool spectator purely;"—

or allowed his attitude to be determined by personal considerations. It is in subtler ways that we may detect his deeper responses to the spirit of the age. From the start his work reveals his awareness of social and political discontents, and the poem that stands at the head of the Kilmarnock Edition, *The Twa Dogs*, if hardly Jacobin in tone, is far from uncritical:

" . . . our gentry care as little
For delvers, ditchers, an' sic cattle ;

Poor tenant bodies, scant o' cash,
How they maun thole a factor's snash :

There's monie a creditable stock
O' decent, honest, fawsont folk.
Are riven out baith root an' branch,
Some rascal's pridefu' greed to quench."

His election ballads could on occasion strike the same note:

"A Lord may be a lousy loon,
Wi' ribban, star, and a' that."

Burns's championship of popular rights, his sympathetic understanding of the lives of common men and especially of the Scottish peasantry whence he sprang, his view of personal integrity as something apart from rank or wealth, his insistence on human values in the lives of even the lowest orders of mankind—these are points which need not be laboured; they are of the very essence of his great poems, of *Hallowe'en*, of *Tam o' Shanter*, and of *The Jolly Beggars*, as well as of *The Cottar's Saturday Night* and some others that are not

great. If, towards the end of his life, his association with "sons of sedition" was injudiciously intimate, and if his delight in low company was given too free a rein, his poetic inspiration was still quickened by ideas of a liberal and even radical nature. The plan of *Scots Wha Ha'e* was conceived in 1793 and was suggested, on his own showing, not only by Bannockburn, but also by "some other struggles of the same nature *not quite so ancient*," while *Is There for Honest Poverty* (1795) likewise betrays an obvious debt to the principles of the French Revolution, especially in its concluding lines, with their pathetic or prophetic—as you will—vision of universal peace and goodwill:

"It's comin' yet for a' that,
That man to man the world o'er
Shall brithers be for a' that."

By the end of the century the authorities, laying aside panicky persecution, were able to take a saner view of their responsibilities; Parliament even found time in 1802 to legislate for the better payment of schoolmasters. Whig attacks on the government were given a powerful instrument with the founding of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802. Dundas, however, nominating forty-three out of the forty-five M.P.s in that year, seemed as strong as ever; consequently, his impeachment for peculation three years later came as a thunderclap to the nation. The circumstances of the time account for the lack of the sort of opposition which the *Squadrone* had been able to offer to Islay. Dundas's fall discredited his party and his methods, and the less tyrannical attitude of later Toryism is reflected in the greatly reduced power of the second Viscount Melville, who was manager from his father's death in 1811 until 1827. There was a brief Whig interlude under the "Ministry of All the Talents" in 1806-7, when Erskine was Lord Advocate, but the country, deeply involved in the long conflict with Napoleon, was in no mood for reforms, and soon returned to a further long spell of Tory rule.

Whig ideas nevertheless made steady progress, in Scotland perhaps even more than in England, and the significance of the great Edinburgh public meeting of 1814 to petition against slavery cannot be overlooked. In this connection, too, the *Edinburgh Review* was most influential in both countries. "Cultured" as regards life and letters, it was staunchly Whig in politics and "moderate," dispassionate, even flippant and irreverent towards religion. Along with the *Scotsman*, started as a Whig weekly newspaper in 1817, it did much to win over men of substance, breeding and education. The challenge to the party in power was taken up in 1809 by the *Quarterly Review* and more effectively, in 1817, by *Blackwood's Magazine*. *Blackwood's* sought to fight the enemy with its own weapons, a blend of well-informed gravity and outrageous flippancy, and through sheer partisan contrariety championed the Evangelical side in religion. Journalistic activities of the time reveal the changed attitude of the Scots, to whom political controversy, which had once failed to rouse even their professional politicians, was now the keenest of interests.

After Waterloo depression and industrial dislocation led to a revival of revolutionary societies, and seditious meetings were forbidden in 1817 and 1819. The Glasgow weavers were especially prominent with such daring projects as annual parliaments and adult suffrage, but the trials of the time show a great advance on those held under the shadow of the Terror. Six months' imprisonment and even "Not guilty" verdicts were now given for the sort of speech-making formerly punished with transportation. Persistent hardships impelled the workers to a bolder step in April 1820, when a general strike was to instal a provisional government which should frame a new and equitable constitution. Soldiers had to deal with this "Radical War" at Glasgow and Carron, but out of forty-seven prisoners taken, twenty-four were condemned to death, of whom only three were hanged, two were found not guilty, while twenty-one were never brought to trial.

In December of the same year a large public meeting was held by the Edinburgh Whigs, in defiance of municipal authority, in order to petition for the ministry's removal. With the spirit of reform obviously gaining, some minor changes were actually made. Between 1808 and 1830 a series of statutes improved the legal system, especially as regards the Court of Session, while in 1822, as a result of an inquiry into the need for burgh reform, the Exchequer was given some control over the unsavoury fiscal methods of the towns.

Official Toryism felt the change, and the era of Wellington and Castlereagh was succeeded by that of Canning and Peel; the limitation of the death penalty and the organisation of the police force were solid gains. Catholic emancipation, granted in 1829, was advocated by the Scottish Whigs as a matter of course. In purely Scottish affairs the powers of the Lord Advocate were the subject of heated debates, and in 1827, when Canning was premier, the office of manager was abolished. Following on the craze for speculation in 1825, the financial crash and acute distress prompted the governmental suggestion of prohibiting Scottish bank notes, but the successful popular outcry, led by Sir Walter Scott in the *Letters of Malachi Malagrowther*, shows that the thread of nationalism running through Scots politics was still holding strongly.

In 1830 a Whig ministry, pledged to parliamentary reform, at length took office, with Francis Jeffrey as Lord Advocate. The struggle for the Reform Bill was followed with the keenest interest in Scotland as in England, and the ministers had some doubts as to their ability to hold back the more excitable of their own extremists. There could be no doubt that the townsfolk were heart and soul for Reform, and the numbers and quality of those who hailed with unbounded delight such a cautious change as the adoption of the £10 household franchise suggest that the greater part of the Scottish nation (who would still of course be disqualified from voting) regarded the Reform Act of 1832 as an earnest of many good things to come.

By 1832 the political scene in Scotland had thus changed almost beyond recognition. The nationalist sentiment, no longer separatist since the failure of rebellion, could still inspire a stubborn resistance to anything that looked like an affront to Scotland. "Unionism" (in our narrow and archaic sense) tended to become, with increasing international harmony and the adoption of common fiscal measures, not so much a fighting creed as an implicit condition of public life. The greatest change of all lay in the importance of radicalism, which, after generations of underground activity, had come into the open only to incite intolerance and persecution, until returning common sense enabled the authorities to regard it as being not necessarily criminal or perverted. Indeed, by 1832 his attitude to the radical sentiment became the touchstone for the politically-minded Scot—this was the chief issue of the day, and he must be either for or against. The conflict is best evidenced in the views of Scotland's two greatest men, who lived in the times just before the Reform Bill. A deep conviction of the certainty of the disastrous consequences of Reform made Sir Walter a true conservative of the best type; while the liberalism of Burns, spreading out beyond the political questions of his age, inspired his ideas of social justice, ethical values and the whole meaning of life.

The change from political apathy to absorbed interest may be illustrated by a consideration of the part played by Scotsmen in the government of the British Isles. Leaving aside the Scottish Secretaries, who were automatically Scotsmen, we find that, from the Union to the French Revolution, Viscount Dupplin acted for two years under the elder Pitt as Paymaster-General of the Forces, Bute was a Secretary of State and Prime Minister for two years, and Viscount Stormont (later Earl of Mansfield) was in North's ministry and the Fox-North coalition. During eighty-two years Scotland claims three cabinet ministers! In the years between 1789 and 1832, Mansfield again appears under Pitt, there were two Lord Chancellors (the Tory Lord

Loughborough and the Whig Lord Erskine), there were the two Dundases (the second Viscount Melville was at the Admiralty under Liverpool and Wellington), the Duke of Montrose headed the Board of Trade in Pitt's last administration, Charles Grant (who became Lord Glenelg) held cabinet posts both as a Canningite Tory and as a Whig, while, in addition to Melville and Grant, Wellington had three other Scots in his ministry of 1828-30—Sir George Murray, the Earl of Rosslyn and the Earl of Aberdeen (himself destined for the premiership). The contrast between ten cabinet ministers in forty-three years and three in eighty-two does not exaggerate the significance of the year 1789 as a dividing-line in Scottish public life.

CHAPTER V

MODERN SCOTTISH POLITICS

THE events of the last hundred years have not belied the promise of the first third of the nineteenth century. The Scottish people, given the chance that was denied them in the times of Walpole and the Pitts, showed by their interest in public affairs and their consistent point of view that political apathy was not natural to them, but the result of the defective machinery of the State. Scottish political traditions awoke to vigorous, if one-sided, activity. The Union with England was a fact acceptable to almost all Scotsmen and removed from the sphere of realistic controversy, so that, with Scotland for long unresponsive to the appeal of a wider "unionism" embracing the whole Empire, unionist sentiment was a passive and general state of mind rather than an incentive to action. Nationalist feelings could still be aroused over cases of manifest injustice or inequality, but instances were much rarer now than in the early days of Union, so that here too the element of sustained political controversy was lacking. The field was thus clear for the effective entry into politics of Scotland's ingrained radicalism, which hitherto had achieved more in Church than in State, although, as we have seen, its workings may be traced in the social ferment which produced "The Friends of the People" and kindred bodies, as well as in the tumultuous approval of the first Reform Bill.

The nineteenth-century upsurge of the reforming spirit in Scotland was for long devoted almost exclusively to the support of the party which stood squarely for the democratization of political institutions and the amelioration of the many and gross evils inflicted upon society by the Industrial Revolution. The fifty odd

years between the first and third Reform Acts were thus the heyday of Scottish Liberalism. On the one hand, Toryism, despite several useful measures dear to the heart of the reformers, failed to earn the gratitude or enlist the sympathies of the mass of Scotsmen, who spurned it as an obstructive and negative creed of the privileged few. On the other hand, extreme left-wing movements had not the power, wealth or organization to offer a real challenge to the Liberals' championship of popular rights and claims. The Chartists, it is true, had some followers in the 'forties, Socialist orators in the mines and at street-corners were creating mild consternation from the 'fifties onwards, and later still trade-unions, indoctrinated with Marxism, had taught masses of the workers to ask for much more than even an advanced politician was prepared to concede. These movements, however, had negligible political results until very late in the century, so that, from 1832 to 1885, the Scots Liberals had little to fear from either right or left.

They found their staunchest supporters among the Presbyterian middle classes enfranchized by the Reform Act. During the early years of Victoria's reign heated arguments and quarrels raged around the relations of Church and State, many politico-religious issues were raised, and the Churches inevitably took part in public affairs. Fully one-half of the members of the Church of Scotland were jealous and resentful of State interference, whilst outside the Establishment the numerous and powerful dissenting congregations, true heirs of eighteenth-century radicalism, were Whig to a man. The bias towards Liberalism was already irresistible, and Peel's failure to avert disruption in 1843, if it left every remaining manse a Tory stronghold, stamped the impress of anti-Conservatism more strongly than ever on the people at large. Nor did ecclesiastical affairs deflect their attention from purely secular questions. A free Church led them to think of free schools, and, in the "Voluntary Controversy," dissenters fought the Establishment's claim to monopolize education; so, by

easy stages, even the "unco' guid" sectarians became interested in free trade, a wide and free franchise and and the whole political programme.

Party discipline and party unity were not so clear and well-defined as we know them in the twentieth century. Freedom of judgment and of action permitted the existence within the Liberal party of several groups with contrasting aims and views. Apart from men like Lord Elcho, who styled themselves "Liberal-Conservatives," there were two main divisions, the "Old Whigs" or "Reform Whigs," who were satisfied with the changes made in the 'thirties, and the left-wing groups of the Independent Liberals and the Radicals, bent on further political and social reforms. Already in 1839 the more advanced section had set up the Reform Union, to press for a wider franchise and to keep the Whigs true to their function as a progressive party. The divergent aims of the two wings may be studied in the correspondence of T. B. Macaulay (member for Edinburgh in the years 1839-47 and 1852-56) with some of the more vehement and outspoken of his constituents. When we recall, against the historic background of Scotland's frustrated radicalism, the many circumstances that favoured the growth of Liberalism; when we remember that the appeal of the older Toryism lay primarily to the landlord and the farmer, whose relative importance was diminishing; and when we adduce thereto the Conservative split into Protectionists and Peelites, with the latter more sympathetic to Liberalism than to Toryism, the reasons for the triumph of Scottish Liberalism in the mid-nineteenth century are apparent.

There was a marked contrast between English and Scottish political trends during these years. The Tory opposition won the general election of 1837 as regards England and Wales with a majority of twenty, but the Irish and Scottish results converted this into a minority of thirty-four and kept the Whig Ministry in power; the experience was to be by no means unique in the annals of Conservatism. Ireland, whether it voted

Liberal, Radical, "Repealer" or Irish Nationalist, could be depended upon not to vote Tory. Scotland was equally barren ground for that party, and the hostile Irish and Scottish *blocs* could on occasion negative its English support. As a result, only Peel in 1841 and Disraeli in 1874 were returned with Conservative majorities, despite the fact that their party did as well in England, on the whole, as did their opponents. Never once did the Liberals look like failing to carry Scotland at a general election. Their smallest majority of Scottish seats was nine, in 1841; thereafter it rose steadily, to reach thirty-one in 1865. The second and third Reform Acts, enlarging the electorates and increasing the number of members, raised the margin in favour of the Liberals still more, to forty-six in 1868, and eventually to fifty-two in 1885.

The election returns reveal the source of this unwavering Liberal support. A detailed analysis is too complex and statistical for presentation here, but the figures show that it was the burghs' vote which was responsible for the country's devotion to one party. The Liberals unfailingly carried all or almost all the burgh seats. Occasionally they dropped one or two—at most (in 1874), three;—at four successive general elections, between 1857 and 1868, they made a clean sweep of all the burgh constituencies. There were actually in 1885 more burgh seats with unbroken records of Liberal representation than without. The county results are not nearly so homogeneous. They divide into three roughly equal groups, of which one, including most of the northern counties, was predominantly Liberal, one, including many southern seats, was mainly Conservative, whilst in the third group the contest was a fairly even one. On the whole, it may be said that until 1865 the two parties were equally matched in the counties; thereafter the Liberals had a definite, sometimes a very great, advantage, though never to the same extent as in the burghs.

The Liberalism of the towns may have been in part a natural reaction against the memories of the irrespon-

sible authority wielded and abused by the unreformed municipal corporations, but in the main it rested on economic considerations. Free trade and a forward policy suited the industrial interests of the townsfolk, and, living close to the social evils of the factory system, the mills and the mines, they knew the pressing need for humanitarian legislation. Moreover, radical and equalitarian talk appealed to their questing minds. On each point the Liberal party offered what they sought. The more diffuse electorates of the shires, on the other hand, were more susceptible to aristocratic influences and less ready to lay aside tradition; dominated for generations by territorial magnates, they gave a better hearing to the party which had all along regarded itself as the protector of their particular economic interest—agriculture. In both town and country, more especially towards the end of the period, the enfranchisement of the middle and working classes, improved educational facilities and the increased reading of cheap, daily newspapers all helped the Liberal cause and made its grip tighter. The Liberalism of the two chief newspapers, serving as a model for most of the provincial press, imparted to editorials and news-items a tone which commended them to most likely readers in the country. Thus the influence of the *Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald* in confirming and moulding national opinion in politics was profound and lasting.

The chief significance of the nineteenth-century activity of the radical sentiment in Scotland lies, therefore, in the very material help which it gave to the great series of British political and social reforms of the time. Not that these reforms were simply a triumphal Liberal procession—as witness Peel's repeal of the Corn Laws, and Gladstone's failure over Irish Home Rule. The whole process was rather the outcome of a continuous, running fight between two parties constantly moving on to fresh points of conflict. At the same time it is clear that the main urge towards change did come from the Liberal side, so that the net effect of

Scotland's fidelity to that party was to make the reform programme possible and to hasten its *tempo*. In this way the nation's contribution to British history and its influence on constitutional developments were vital. Parliamentary and local reform, State regulation of commerce, imperial policy, the conduct of war, the budget—these and similar topics, of common interest to England and Scotland, were as successful in engaging the attention of the Scottish elector as eighteenth-century political issues had been unsuccessful. Some more local questions did arise, but generally as items of a party programme, and very seldom in such a way as to unite all Scotsmen in a general resistance to a national affront.

The struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws was the major conflict of the late 'thirties and early 'forties. The project commanded, it is said, even wider support in Scotland than in England, and from the first public meeting, held in Edinburgh in January, 1839, there was little doubt as to where the people stood. Cobden and Bright found their ablest and most useful ally in a rising Independent Liberal of "advanced" views, Duncan McLaren, who soon became prominent in the Anti-Corn-Law League's work in both countries. By collecting, classifying and digesting statistics, disseminating propaganda, arranging meetings, organizing financial expedients and preparing monster petitions, he massed the Scottish nation in virtual unanimity behind the demand for abolition; "the late meetings," Bright wrote in December, 1843, "and all your printing must have saturated the Scotch mind with Free Trade doctrines." Most spectacular of all his moves was the convening of no fewer than 801 ministers of the Secession, Relief, Congregational, Baptist and other Churches to denounce "the sinfulness and injustice" of the Corn Laws. In some localities the bitterness of the conflict drove a deep wedge between Whigs and Independents, and in 1847, the year after the repeal, the Edinburgh malcontents showed their dissatisfaction with Macaulay, whose attitude seemed to them luke-

warm and temporizing, by rejecting his candidacy for re-election.

At this time, with memories of the disruption still young and bitter, and religious and evangelical fervour running high, the traditional Scottish antipathy to Roman Catholicism remained a potent force. In 1845 Peel's Act recognizing and endowing Maynooth College for the training of Irish priests had been passed amid opposition from his own party, with help from the Whigs and much misgiving among the people. In Scotland the grants from public funds were freely denounced, though it is only fair to note that not all the hostility arose from anti-Catholic prejudice; the "voluntaries," avowedly disestablishmentarian on principle, fought against the idea of the "concurrent endowment" of the different denominations as one point of their general case against State Churches. In 1850 there was a clearer manifestation of the lingering spirit of Reformation days. The cry of "Papal Aggression," raised over the scheme of giving territorial titles to English bishops of the Romanist Church, evoked a widespread and indignant response in Scotland, though the measure was not to apply to that country, and much satisfaction was felt with Russell's prohibitory Act of 1851, even if it was not enforced and was quietly repealed twenty years later.

Scottish Liberals soon found worthier work to undertake. The social evils of habitual intemperance and gross drunkenness were notorious in the Scotland of the 'forties and 'fifties. In 1852, when Duncan McLaren was Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the problem was tackled on the local plane. Sunday drunkenness was punished by the city magistrates more severely than week-day offences, and the publicans began to close down voluntarily, with appreciable and beneficial results. Inspired by this experiment, Parliament in the following year passed the Forbes-Mackenzie Act, which has governed the conduct of Scottish licensed houses ever since. Drinking on the premises was limited to the hours between 8 a.m. and 11 p.m.,

grocers were allowed only an "off-licence," whilst on Sundays no public houses could open, and hotels or inns could supply drink only to residents or to *bona fide* travellers. A general improvement in social conditions was the result. In 1853 leading free-traders like Bright, Cobden and McLaren, faced by the impending Crimean War, found that consistency obliged them to be pleaders in the cause of international peace. The "Peace Party," a comprehensive movement including those who denounced all war and favoured inter-governmental arbitration, others who feared the baneful influence of a military caste and others again who wished reduction of armaments for economy's sake, attracted the sympathetic interest of Scottish Liberals. Dissenters, now powerfully reinforced by the large following of the Free Church, were especially interested in temperance and peace policies; their activities in these matters reveal the politico-religious support which meant so much to Liberalism.

From 1853 onwards the methods of conducting Scottish business began to arouse adverse comment. There was, it was asserted, too much varied work for the Lord Advocate to discharge efficiently; the inevitable results were wastefulness, irresponsibility, and an inadequate share of the national expenditure. There was nothing but sound sense in the argument, but some time elapsed before much interest was shown, even in Scotland. Meanwhile all minor questions were forgotten in the fight for parliamentary reform. Many felt that the time was more than ripe for a further advance. English and Scottish Radicals, like Bright and McLaren, spoke of a ratepayer-and-lodger franchise, the secret ballot and a redistribution scheme. In this last point Scotsmen, firmly convinced of their under-representation, had a special interest. Parliament as a whole, however, hardly concerned itself about the question until after Palmerston's death in 1865. Already in the elections of that year the Edinburgh Radicals had scored a great triumph by returning their champion McLaren at the head of the

poll, against both Tory and Old Whig opposition, and in the debates over the second Reform Bill in 1867 he played a big part, not only by going over with his fellow-Radicals to support Disraeli's burgh household suffrage, but also by his masterly presentation of the case for an increased Scottish quota. He showed that while Scotland, with a population between one-ninth and one-tenth of that of the British Isles, contributed between one-eighth and one-ninth of the national taxation, she got, with fifty-three members out of 658, well under one-twelfth of the representation; to allow her sixty-eight members would be an act of mere justice. Disraeli, influenced no doubt by the consideration that adding to Scotland's members meant adding to the opposing party, made the not too gracious concession of increasing the fifty-three to sixty. The secret ballot was left over, to be carried four years later by Gladstone's administration, and votes for women, already advocated by the Radicals, were postponed for another half-century.

The election of 1868 swept Gladstone into power with a majority of well over one hundred, thanks entirely to the Scottish and Irish vote. The most important of the subsequent Gladstonian reforms, from a Scottish viewpoint, was that affecting education. In the 'thirties the schools, still largely administered by the Church, began to receive State grants, and in 1846 these were made dependent on regular inspection. But the system had no guarantee of permanence or stability, and the Disruption changed the Evangelicals from champions of "Church Extension" schemes (involving a virtual monopoly of schools) into providers of rival State-aided institutions; the United Presbyterian Church was a good third. The Act of 1872 substituted a national plan for independent denominational control. School Boards were to have full authority in each parish and, although religious instruction was available, the "conscience clause" enabled parents to decide whether their children should take it. The adoption of the principle of popular election for the

School Boards gratified Scottish Liberals, who felt that the same plan should apply over the whole field of local government. Already in 1870 Henry Campbell (later Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman), member for Stirling Burghs, and Duncan McLaren had proposed the substitution in the counties of responsible, elective bodies for the Commissioners of Supply,—an institution, they felt, which had long outlived its usefulness.

Ecclesiastical affairs continued to bulk large in the politics of the day. The year 1870 saw the end of a dispute which, though purely local in nature, had been for thirty-six years a national *cause célèbre*. The Annuity-tax, exacted from householders in Edinburgh and Montrose for the upkeep of the Church of Scotland ministry in these towns, was detested as a financial grievance and a badge of servitude by Liberals and dissenters alike, who welcomed the Act of Parliament by which it was directed to be compounded. The disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in Ireland, in 1869, encouraged the Scottish dissenters to press for a similar measure for Scotland ; though the most fanatical critic could hardly claim that the cases were parallel, disestablishment became a favourite topic among Scottish Liberals. The most striking personality among them was that of Duncan McLaren, who, by his exact and masterly knowledge and lucid exposition of all Scottish questions, as well as by his sincere, enlightened and active patriotism, won for himself the sobriquet of " Member for Scotland."

Disraeli's return to power in 1874 was in a sense an English triumph over the changeless Liberalism of the sister countries, and yet the new ministry did something to earn Scotland's gratitude by abolishing Church patronage (that hoary grievance), removing road-tolls and consenting to fortify Inchkeith. Consequently Gladstone's victorious Midlothian campaign of 1879 and his party's success in the general election of the following year were a great disappointment to the Conservatives. The ninth decade of the century opened with the Liberal party more firmly entrenched

in Scotland than ever before, but, hidden from the view of the most acute observer, events were in train to shake its dominance and, in the course of little more than a generation, to reduce it almost to impotence.

During the 'eighties affairs at home and abroad were moving to a climax. It is probably true that political feeling then ran higher than at any time before or since. Progressives were pressing for a wider franchise and the clearing up of the anomalies left by the Derby-Disraeli Act, popular systems of local government were being freely canvassed, imperial responsibilities were felt more keenly than formerly (General Gordon's mission and death were the main cause), and the clamour for Irish Home Rule was such that the issue, many felt, could no longer be shelved. Not only was Scotland deeply concerned in most of these affairs; she too responded to the restless spirit of the times and became thoroughly agitated over domestic questions. The Liberal members were sensible of the country's under-representation at Westminster and determined that a final and just redistribution scheme should be part of any reform. Even more widespread was the resentment over the mismanagement of the administrative affairs of Scotland. Scots Conservatives as well as Liberals were by now convinced that the archaic and inefficient muddle of the existing system, or lack of it, must be done away with.

There was little difficulty over the achievement of the first of these aims. From the Liberal standpoint, expediency as well as justice dictated the advisability of having Scotland fully represented in Parliament, and a belated recognition of the equity of McLaren's figures of 1867 was made by raising Scotland's quota to seventy-two members. The other claim, though equally self-evident, was rendered needlessly difficult, or rather it was simply evaded, because of Gladstone's lack of true interest in Scotland (which gave him his seat as well as an invaluable body of supporters) through his preoccupation with Ireland. Thus Scotland needed a stout champion, more especially since McLaren had resigned

in 1881. Fortunately enough, the young Earl of Rosebery was now available, along with another Liberal peer who had done much to forward his country's welfare—the Duke of Argyll. Both were convinced that only a Scottish Secretaryship could remedy the current ills and assuage the general indignation, which was already such that, according to Rosebery, "the words Home Rule have begun to be distinctly and loudly mentioned in Scotland." Rosebery was given the Under-Secretaryship of Home Affairs, with Scotland as his special charge, and his uneasy tenure of an office which he deemed worthy neither of his country's dignity nor his own deserts merely confirmed his views. Time was wasted and tempers frayed over arguments as to what should be done; it all seems singularly barren and unreal to us to-day. Gladstone was out and Salisbury in before Rosebery's bill became law, so that it was under a Conservative ministry, though by a Liberal house, that the office of Secretary for Scotland was instituted.

It is well to take stock of the political situation in Scotland in the year 1885, on the eve of momentous changes. The general election gave the Liberal party the handsomest majority it had ever enjoyed, and the returns show that rather more than two out of every three voters had given it their suffrages. The unbroken success of Scottish Liberalism during fifty-three years was in part simply the long overdue triumph of political radicalism, for the first time vocal, vibrant, assertive of popular rights and master of the field. The other two sentiments potentially capable of rousing and firing Scottish imagination—nationalism and unionism—were, for the time, placated and passive. The opposing party, the Conservative, stood for no clear-cut political philosophy. It could exploit Liberal mistakes, particularly in the foreign and colonial departments; it could offer the prospect of an alternative administration, free from such blunders; but its real essence was little more than a mere negation of radicalism, and, as such, it made a very limited appeal to the Scottish electorate,

used to a democratic system in the Church and ready to trust it in the secular sphere. Purely political considerations were, as we have seen, reinforced by the economic and social aspects of Scottish Liberalism, especially in the towns; determined to further industrial progress and material prosperity, the nation at large also responded to the humanitarian impulses of an awakening social conscience and strengthened the hands of Parliament in its attempts to curb the crass brutality of employers and manufacturers. At this distance of time most Scotsmen, no matter what their present party allegiance may be, will agree that the steadfast political faith of our Victorian forbears, in the circumstances of their time, does credit alike to their strength of mind and their sincerity of purpose; it is not, indeed, fantastic to say that all three major political parties of modern Scotland have a common ancestor in the Liberal party of those days.

For some time before the end of Gladstone's second administration, during the years 1883 and 1884, the agitation for Irish Home Rule had found many Scottish sympathisers with its aims, if not with its methods. Speculation as to Scotland's own case was intensified, and there was a greater readiness than ever before to demand that the terms of the Union be reviewed. From now on most of the Liberal M.P.s of Scotland spoke in favour of Home Rule for their own country, as well as disestablishment of the National Church. Not that they were separatists in a narrow sense: the measures which they advocated were inspired primarily by the Irish troubles, and only to a minor degree by Scotland's ills. What was aimed at was thus a comprehensive scheme of devolution of authority, whereby control of local affairs would go to parliaments representative of the three, or even four, nations—for Wales was sometimes put on an equality with the others. McLaren, retired but still vitally interested in politics, himself approved of "a measure of Home Rule which would apply equally to each of the three kingdoms, and have a tendency to unite them more and

more in one friendly bond of brotherhood." The demand for both Scottish and Irish Home Rule was, of course, strengthened by the chaotic condition of Scottish administration, the lack of a Scottish Secretary and the nation's inadequate representation in the House of Commons ; but that these abuses were not the essential cause of the agitation is shown by the fact that it did not cease with their removal in 1885. Indeed, the Home Rule idea, once implanted in Scots Liberalism, found congenial soil and has thriven from that time to this.

When, in April 1886, Gladstone announced his Irish Home Rule plan, the Scottish question paled into insignificance beside it. Opinion in Scotland, as in England, was rather evenly divided upon it. The Conservatives, of course, were against it to a man. Most of the Liberals approved, but there was a powerful minority of dissentients. Some—heirs of the old "Reform Whig" tradition—objected to any meddling with the legislative union of the kingdoms. Others, who favoured the principle of Home Rule for all three nations, saw in the Gladstonian scheme only abject surrender to Irish intimidation and disbelieved in, or were dissatisfied with, the Premier's promise of a similar measure for Scotland. Among these last was Duncan McLaren, "advanced" Liberal and Home Ruler as he was ; already on his death-bed, he wrote to the greatest of the recalcitrant English Liberals, John Bright, "If I had the health and strength which I possessed in Anti-Corn Law times, I would be prepared to do what you and other noble patriots did, and to do what our ancestors used to call 'to testify' against the proposed injustice." Thousands of Gladstone's Scottish followers turned against him ; Liberal Unionism was popular, especially in the cities and towns ; and, most important of all, the Liberals lost their influential press support, for both *Scotsman* and *Glasgow Herald* adopted the Unionist position.

The ensuing general election revealed the width of the breach in the Liberals' ranks. Gladstone's combined opponents carried enough British constituencies to

instal Salisbury in power with a comfortable majority. The Scottish results were superficially not so striking and yet, in relation to the past strength of Liberalism, they evinced an even greater change-over. The Liberal poll dropped by well over 100,000 votes, the party lost more seats than ever before and their majority of Scottish seats slipped from fifty-two to fourteen. No fewer than nine burgh constituencies rejected Gladstonian candidates, eight of them returning Liberal Unionists.

The defection from Scots Liberalism was serious and permanent. The loss of what had been a virtual monopoly of the burghs was never made good. As in England, Liberal Unionists before long learned to co-operate with Conservatives and, despite their original intention of maintaining their identity, ultimately became merged with them. The leading newspapers went over with them and imparted an anti-Liberal tone to editorials and news-reports. The Conservatives and their new allies could now combat the innate radicalism of a great section of the nation by an appeal to its unionist sympathies over the threatened rupture of the United Kingdom; as champions of the solidarity of the British system, they could no longer be taunted with being merely obstructive.

Precisely at the same time as Scottish Liberalism was shedding about one third of its strength to the right occurred the first omen of what was to be a still greater defection to the left. On the whole, the party had faithfully interpreted the radical trend of thought among the electorate. It is true that Liberal M.P.s had some extremist supporters, particularly among the working classes, whose ideas were much more revolutionary than their own; harmony was not always perfect, and relations were sometimes distinctly strained. Even McLaren, whose rugged individualism forbade him to countenance what his trade union supporters claimed to be their right to "picket" during strikes, aroused hostile comment; at one meeting, in 1874, dissatisfaction among the workers led them

to carry a vote of no confidence in their normally popular member.

Discontent of this kind, however, was not implacable and, when Socialism became organized as an alternative creed, with perhaps a more direct appeal to the factory-workers and miners, they did not immediately or unanimously desert the party that had fought their fights in the past. Indeed, there was no call for them to do so, since "Labour" candidates were at first practically indistinguishable from the more radical of the Liberals and appeared under the same party label. Thus in 1886, while Keir Hardie—the most dynamic of the Scottish Socialists—was welding the Scottish miners into a homogeneous body, Mr Cunninghame Graham, who not long after became the first chairman of the Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party, won a seat at North-West Lanarkshire ; but he won it as a nominal Liberal. The Labour programme, in addition to purely Socialist ideas like nationalisation of industries, national insurance and the abolition of the House of Lords, took over some distinctly Liberal policies like Home Rule and disestablishment. It was twenty years before Labour won a Scottish seat in its own name ; in the meantime there was nothing especially menacing in its appearance on the political stage—that it would one day steal the Liberals' thunder could hardly have been guessed.

The Salisbury administration went far towards satisfying the demand for local government reform by its establishment in 1889 of popularly elected county councils ; save for the anomalous retention of commissioners of supply, it was a bold and thorough change. Something was being attempted at the same time in the way of relieving distress and misery in the Highlands, where high rents and ejections had not unnaturally induced an ugly temper among the crofters. The Crofters' Holdings Act of 1886, sponsored by the first Liberal Secretary for Scotland, Sir George Trevelyan, had sought to fix fair rents, guarantee security of tenure, enlarge existing holdings and allow compensation

for improvements. Unrest, disturbance and rioting continued for several years, while, in accordance with the Act, Commissioners toured the northern counties endeavouring to alleviate hardships and settle disputes. The Commission continued to visit and report annually until 1913, reducing rents in the aggregate by twenty-five per cent. and cancelling arrears up to sixty-seven per cent.

The English elections of 1892 gave the Conservatives another majority, but Scotland and Ireland again reversed the verdict ; Liberals won fifty Scottish seats and lost twenty-two. Gladstone took office for the fourth time, only to give way in 1894 to his brilliant and erratic lieutenant, Rosebery ; in the interim Irish Home Rule had encountered its second defeat. It is interesting to recall that Rosebery was the third Scotsman in nearly two centuries to reach the premiership, whilst, of his eight successors during forty years, no fewer than four have been fellow-countrymen of his. It was in his administration that local reforms were brought to their completion by the establishment of popularly elected parish councils and of a Local Government Board to co-ordinate the activities of the various administrative bodies. The details of the Act were worked out under a new method of procedure whereby all Scottish members were included in a Scottish Grand Committee. Despite these changes for the better, Home Rule for Scotland remained a plank of the Scottish Liberal group, and at the same time the United Presbyterian Church Assembly unanimously, and the Free Church by a large majority, reaffirmed their belief in disestablishment.

It is not easy to estimate the strength of nationalist and separatist movements in Scotland at this time. Based originally on genuine abuses, they somehow survived their removal ; and Home Rule undoubtedly held a powerful fascination for the Scottish Liberal M.P.s, who, of course, would have dominated an independent parliament. Popular support for the idea, they claimed, was general and determined—but it

seems, at best, to have been passive and anything but vociferous. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the demand for Scottish Home Rule was largely a synthetic and sympathetic response to the Irish agitation. What is clear is that in the years following the defeat of the second Home Rule Bill, "Little Scotlandism" was far from being a practical help to the Liberals. The strength of the appeal which they were able to make to the nationalist feelings of the electorate was much more than offset by the gift of a powerful rallying-cry to their opponents. As the bulwark of the constitution against untried change, as the champion of the solidarity of the state against factious dismemberment, the Unionist party, combining Conservative and Liberal elements, might well be held to be the defender and custodian of that "unionist" faith which had inspired many far-seeing Scotsmen before 1707 and, after that date, had led the nation, despite disappointments and provocations, to adhere to the agreement then reached.

The 1895 election results give point to these considerations. The Unionists obtained a larger majority than any recorded since 1832, and the Liberal majority in Scotland touched the unusually low figure of six. As the century drew to its close local issues were dwarfed by an all-pervading Imperialism. The Queen's diamond jubilee served to focus the growing sense of pride in Britain and her Empire, and spectacular events like the war against the Mahdi and the "Fashoda Incident" kept it alive and active. The outbreak of the Boer War and the early disasters of the British armies roused the new Imperialism to fever-heat. Patriotic fervour was at its tide, and the government, in the "khaki election" of 1900, chose the moment well to secure a renewal of the mandate of 1895. Scotland, swept along with the main current, broke with the tradition of two generations to give the Unionists a majority of four seats. Glasgow's seven constituencies, which had sent seven Liberals to parliament fifteen years before, now returned seven Unionists, Orkney and Shetland, a "safe" Liberal seat throughout

the Queen's long reign, was the last to declare its poll—in favour of the Unionist.

Liberalism, faced by the undeniable popularity of the new Unionism, was now and for some time afterwards at a very low ebb. Divisions of opinion as to the justice of the war reflected the cleavage in the party leadership between Rosebery and Asquith, on the one hand, and Campbell-Bannerman, Morley and the pacifist group, on the other. On the whole, bellicose sentiments were perhaps commoner, as they certainly were among the people generally. The contrasting aims of the two groups were embodied in the programmes of two organizations which came into being in 1902—Rosebery's Liberal League, which set out to indoctrinate the party with Imperialism, and the Young Scots Society, with contrary ideas.

The sense of pride in the Empire and its achievements, from which the Unionists drew much of their strength, was not unconnected with the spirit of militarism, and the Government was able to placate popular prejudice in Scotland, as well as to consider the dictates of strategy, by authorizing the country's first naval base at Rosyth and planning a permanent military camp at Stobs. By this time, however, warlike sentiments were out of favour and the Unionists were losing ground in Scotland. From the end of the Boer War by-elections began to tell heavily against them, and Chamberlain's proposed revival of tariffs brought internal disunion to add to their troubles. As the electors showed whenever opportunity offered, Free Trade was the people's choice, and the general election of 1906 could only be interpreted as a decisive repudiation of the new tariffs. The Liberals had a clear majority, even independently of their Irish and Labour allies. Unionists retained only twelve Scottish seats; Glasgow returned two, in place of the seven of 1900, and these two were Free Traders. The *Glasgow Herald*, while remaining Unionist, was for Free Trade, and opposed Chamberlain with more animosity than it showed towards Campbell-Bannerman. Dundee and

the Blackfriars division of Glasgow gave Scotland her first two avowed Labour members. Even at this moment of indecision, dissension, blunder and defeat, however, the Unionists polled in the aggregate almost two out of every five votes recorded in Scotland; there is no question of a return to the conditions of 1885 in this respect.

After its long years in the wilderness renascent Liberalism was radical, pacifist and anti-Imperialist in tone. In 1906 the Government, reversing the policy of its predecessor, planned to remove the Scots Greys to England, on the grounds of expense and inadequate accommodation for them in Scotland; the threatened extinction of Scotland's last remaining cavalry regiment aroused sufficient resentment to bring about the building of the Redford Barracks, near Edinburgh. The concentration of by far the most important elements of Presbyterian dissent within the United Free Church, formed in 1900, had strengthened the old demand for disestablishment; and the Lords' decision in 1904 in favour of the vestigial Free Church's claim to the whole property of that sect seemed to many to supply yet another argument against State control. The logic was more than dubious, but the agitation went on. In 1906 and again in 1908 the Scottish Liberal Federation included disestablishment in its programme; Home Rule for Scotland was also given a prominent place in the latter year.

On these points, as well as on many others, Scottish Liberals and Socialists avowed identical aims. Labour members generally supported the Government, and many Liberals, especially in radical Scotland, thought that they should come to an understanding with the Socialists for the purpose of combating the common enemy. Thus the electors of Dundee, a double-member constituency, were represented for twelve years by one Liberal and one Labour M.P., whose co-operation ensured the retention of their seats against the attack of two Unionists. Whether some such concordat could have been reached for the whole of Scotland, to

say nothing of England, is a very open question, but one which points to one of the fascinating might-have-beens of history. It would have entailed considerable local friction and disagreement; it would have intensified what seemed to many the already sufficiently definite radicalism of the Liberal party; and it would inevitably have led to a further desertion to Unionism and, in all probability, to more than one electoral defeat. On the other hand, it would have brought political experience, *sauvity* and a wider vision to Socialism, intimate industrial contacts, fresh vigour and new ideas on social regeneration to Liberalism; it would have consolidated the main left-wing groups and so have perpetuated the two-party rule which seems on the whole to have yielded the best results under our parliamentary system. The opportunity, if it existed, passed, as regards Scotland, in 1906, when the Scottish Liberal Association, by fifty-five votes against thirty-four, resolved to oppose all Socialist candidates for parliament; though the narrowness of the majority indicates that the alternative course of action was no mere impractical vision.

As the decade drew to a close the Government's legislative programme became avowedly radical. Old Age Pensions were instituted, and soon compulsory national insurance, House of Lords reform and Home Rule for Ireland were within the reach of practical politics. The intransigence of the strongly Tory House of Lords gave the Liberals, as protagonists in the "*Peers versus People*" fight, excellent electoral material, and the two general elections of 1910 endorsed and renewed their mandate for reform; but, whereas their radicalism had the effect of inducing England to return well over a hundred more Unionists than in 1906, Scotland's vote was almost unchanged and actually resulted in the return of one Unionist fewer. The seal of popular approval was put on the Parliament Bill and on the project of Irish Home Rule; the readier response of Scotland than of England to these measures is marked and goes far to explain the apparently sudden developments of the post-War epoch.

From 1909 onwards the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church were discussing the basis of a possible reunion, from which the idea of disestablishment was not ruled out. Negotiations were protracted, but at length in 1914 a draft constitution was published and it became known that the United Free Church had definitely turned its back on disestablishment. That long-standing ambition of Scottish Liberalism consequently died a natural death, but meanwhile the other legacy from Victorian times, Home Rule, was showing renewed vigor. Campbell-Bannerman had resuscitated the Scottish Grand Committee for dealing with Scottish bills; it was a concession to nationalist feeling, as well as to sound legislative method, but the feeling remained that measures desired by the Scottish people, such as temperance and land reforms, were unduly delayed or side-tracked. As a result, in June 1910, some twenty Liberal M.P.s formed themselves into the Scottish Nationalist Committee, to demand Scottish control of Scottish affairs. They urged the need for devolution on Asquith, but, as in Gladstone's time, the Irish question was pressing and of all-absorbing interest. Yet the analogy between Scotland and Ireland was one which struck many members, and in 1912 the House, by a small majority, approved a resolution demanding equal treatment for the two countries.

In 1913 the Temperance (Scotland) Act was passed, to enable the electors in each district to control or prohibit the local liquor business by voting for "No Change," "Limitation," or "No Licence." This bill had hung fire for four years, and one may see in its enactment the influence of the Home Rule agitation in calling attention to real grievances. The Liberal Ministers, while generally favourable to Scottish devolution, would not, with Ireland as a heavy liability, accept responsibility for any concrete scheme, and this accounts for the shelving of a specific Government of Scotland Bill in 1913 and again in 1914. The plan was to entrust Scottish administration to the Lord High Commissioner and a revived Privy Council, and

legislation to a Parliament of 140 members, based on the existing constituencies, less the Universities. The seventy-two Scottish M.P.s at Westminster were to be retained ; this clause, had the Bill gone forward, would have been a serious stumbling-block. Some of the Scottish Liberals were suspected of lukewarmness, though most of them insisted that the arrangements of 1707 were no longer adequate or efficient. Balfour and the Unionists denied the existence of any popular and spontaneous demand for the measure, and condemned it whole-heartedly. It is hard to tell who was right in this respect, for the issue was never explicitly submitted to the people of Scotland, although it remained on the Liberal programme for thirty years, along with other points of widespread and undeniable appeal. The people's interest could be aroused over Irish Home Rule, but they showed singularly little concern when consideration of their own case was deferred to the vague future. If, however, the Bill for Ireland had become law with or without violent repercussions, it is just possible that the Liberal Government would have done the like for Scotland ; for then the disappearance of the old plea, that Ireland must come first, would have given point to the claims of the Scots M.P.s. It is thus true to say that the outbreak of the War postponed to a more convenient time not only a very ugly Irish question, but also a not very insistent Scottish one.

The pre-War generation had seen considerable changes come over the structure of Scottish politics. Three successive blows—the split over Irish Home Rule, the loss of influential press support and internal differences regarding Imperialism—had greatly weakened the Liberal party. They had resulted in large defections to the Unionists, which enabled the latter to pose as the “safe” party, averse to violent change and devoted to the constitution, to patriotism and to the Empire. Urban electors, once deaf to Tory appeals, were no longer one-party men ; the vote of town and country was very much the same. For all that, the electorate was still definitely more than half

Liberal, less than half Unionist. Two other political movements, both still of minor importance, complete the picture. On the left wing Labour was coming into prominence. Though still commanding not quite one-eighth of the electoral support accorded to Liberalism, it was growing rapidly and it gained strength and financial stability from its close association with the Trade Unions: to a large extent it was simply the political aspect of these potent industrial combines. The more uncompromising logic, the extreme sectarianism of Scottish Socialism—Scottish labourists were a "ginger group" from the start—had made the general public less responsive than was the case in England, but the party made up in vigour for the paucity of electoral victories. Meanwhile, the idea of Home Rule, both for Ireland and Scotland, was likewise attracting attention. The Irish agitation had evoked the fervid enthusiasm of most Irishmen, had dwarfed all other issues in their minds, and had created a very powerful political party for the express purpose of achieving its aim, even at the cost of civil war. Propaganda on behalf of Scotland had been mild and moderate, since grievances were, at the worst, incomparably more tolerable, and it had actually been carried on, along with other and more vital policies, within and through the Liberal and Labour parties. In a word, radicalism was the strongest political force in the nation, unionism was a good second, nationalism a poor third.

For Scotland, as for all combatant countries, the War was both a political armistice and a political solvent. If public welfare demanded the bending of all energies to the winning of the War and the consequent suppression, for the time, of all political differences, the grimness of the struggle, the tremendous loss of life, the destruction of property, the waste of human and material resources, the loosening of old conventions and the discarding of settled habits in favour of new and untried ways—all that went on between 1914 and 1918 constituted a direct invitation to ordinary men and women to reconsider the meaning of their lives, of their

relations to the State, of their group-actions in the community. Moreover, since the War itself was universally acclaimed as a fight for freedom and democracy against militarism and autocracy, it would be but natural to expect democratic thinking to advance boldly in the countries concerned. For these reasons the changes and advances in political thinking induced by the War were fully equal to those registered by a whole peace-time generation.

Some of the later developments in British politics were adumbrated by the conditions of war-time administration. In conformity with past experiences during similar emergencies, there was a pronounced drift towards Conservatism. The Liberal ministry made way for a Coalition, which eventually, under Mr. Lloyd George, became almost predominantly Unionist. The personal rivalry of the Liberal chiefs, with its repercussions throughout the party, introduced yet another discordant note into the Liberal chorus and was for long after a source of weakness and dissension. The post-War reaction—again almost a tradition of British politics—was likely to seek expression elsewhere than through Liberalism; and the only alternative was Labour.

Obscurely and ineffectively, amid the all-important business of feverish war-work, we can see this trend to Labour foreshadowed by certain activities on the Clyde in 1915 and 1916. Under the heavy and increasing demand for ships, munitions and engineering work of all kinds, some of the Trade Union regulations were abrogated, overtime work became common and "dilution" was adopted—the engaging of unskilled or semi-skilled workers, especially women, to perform the simpler jobs and so to release skilled persons for key-positions. Many of the men were suspicious of these proceedings and insisted on having their own "dilution committees" to carry out the scheme. An extreme brand of left-wing Socialism, which had had its votaries some years before the War, made converts among them; it aimed at the formation of industrial, as opposed to craft, unions and the achievement of industrial

democracy through the class struggle. Shop Stewards' Committees were active in championing the men's claims and the Clyde Workers' Committee was set up, to serve as a model for what should be done elsewhere and to provide the basis of direct and democratic government by workers' delegates. The plan was intended to supersede the existing trade unions and was indeed openly antagonistic to them; the movement, though driven underground, survived the War but came to an end about 1922. The labour unrest which brought these Sovietist notions into prominence was due to the abnormal conditions of war-time industry, but we can see, in retrospect, the permanent significance of the occurrences as a prognostication of the re-orientation of radicalism in Scotland.

The Coalition Government, having partially satisfied the long-established demand of votes for women, appealed to an electorate approximately doubled in size for a mandate to win the peace as it had won the war. The "Coupon Election," rushed through in December 1918 amid the not yet relaxed tension of war-time emotionalism, was in no sense a test of political feeling. The Government's claim that a state of national emergency still called for a non-party administration cut across the whole system of party politics. Most of the Unionists followed Mr. Lloyd George, but a minority of "Die-hards" assumed a position of critical independence. The larger group of Liberals also supported the Government, but a strong minority joined the Opposition under Asquith's leadership. The Coalition included even a few Socialists, though the vast bulk of them were against it. The Irish separatist movement was more truculent and the Nationalists were now almost replaced by Sinn Fein members. Thanks mainly to the recovered strength of English Conservatism, the Government secured a comfortable majority; in Scotland, too, it won sixty seats and lost only fourteen, though the totals of votes polled show that this representation greatly flattered its popular support.

With all its empty rhetoric and false sentimentality, Mr. Lloyd George's claim was justifiable to this extent, that the first few years which followed the Armistice were simply an appendix to what had gone before. Men's thoughts turned to the idea of international co-operation, and the signing of the Peace Treaty, along with the inauguration of the League of Nations, seemed like the inception of an era of peace, harmony and goodwill. The need for industrial reconstruction produced a slight trade revival. In the sphere of domestic politics the establishment of the Irish Free State brought to a close a long, disastrous and not very creditable chapter; it incidentally removed from the path of the Conservatives a permanent *bloc* of parliamentary opponents. By that time, however, the bright hopes of 1919 had been dashed. The great coal strike of 1921 began a general trade depression, which spread over all branches but was especially severe among the heavy industries on which Scotland chiefly depended. During 1921 the unemployment figures sometimes exceeded two millions, and the nation settled down to the grim realities of the new age, in which each country strove on its own account to make good the social and economic havoc left by the War. Britain in particular, saddled with a huge internal War Debt, found her old-time industrial and commercial pre-eminence, already threatened before 1914, destroyed by competition from every quarter, and had to face the task of re-shaping her policy along fresh lines.

The first real election of the post-War epoch came in November, 1922. That Conservatism had gained greatly through the succession of misfortunes and mistakes of Liberalism is apparent, for Bonar Law was returned to power with a majority of more than eighty over all his opponents, whilst Labour jumped to chief place in the Opposition. The triumph of the Conservatives was the work of England, for they took third place in Scotland, with the other two parties about equal in strength and both well ahead of them. In little more than a year another election was held over

Mr. Baldwin's tariff proposals ; the argument was that the position was radically altered from pre-War times and that British trade required protection in a world which was increasingly protectionist. The people failed to endorse the suggestion and the result of the election was a stalemate, with the Conservatives leading over the whole of Britain but the Socialists first in Scotland, where they captured thirty-five of the seventy-four seats.

The granting of self-government to Ireland had probably something to do with the revival, about this time, of the demand for similar treatment for Scotland. As of old, it was the Scottish Liberal Federation that sponsored the plea ; that body in 1924 agreed to work for Scottish control of purely Scottish affairs. This decision was reiterated from time to time by Scottish Liberals, but the support accorded to the idea of self-government from that quarter could not now count for a great deal. The truth is that from 1924 onwards the Liberal party, both in Scotland and in Britain as a whole, was doomed to play a secondary part, for, to crown a long succession of weakening and divisive issues, came the problem of how it should act towards the minority Labour administration of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Sympathetic towards some of the tenets of Socialism, distrustful of others, it could give only wavering and uncertain support to the Government, and the spectacle of its conduct was conducive neither to its dignity nor to its reputation. The leaders' differences of opinion permeated through the rank and file, and there were many defections both to the right and to the left. When, in October, 1924, an adverse Liberal vote drove the Government to appeal to the electorate, the inevitable consequence was seen in the swamping of the Liberal party ; only nine of them were successful in Scotland, forty-one in the whole country. The Conservatives scored a sweeping triumph in England, but in Scotland, though with thirty-eight seats they secured a bare majority of the representation, they actually polled fewer votes than the Socialists.

Various useful administrative and electoral reforms affecting Scotland stand to the credit of Mr. Baldwin's long period of office. The Scottish Secretary became a Secretary of State; the admission of women voters to equal rights with men swelled the Scottish electorate to well over three millions; and the entire machinery of local government was overhauled and carefully integrated. But the most important political activity of the time occurred outside of Parliament, when the general strike of May, 1926, was proclaimed in support of the coal miners. The General Council of the Scottish Trade Union Congress organized the strike in Scotland, while a Scottish Emergency Organization, headed by the Lord Advocate, supervised the local arrangements for the provision of essential food and fuel supplies and such restricted transport facilities as were available. The stoppage was at first reported to be complete, but voluntary labour soon filled up the main gaps and even daily newspapers of a sort were regularly obtainable. A few riots occurred and police charges were made in Glasgow and Edinburgh, but, as in England, there was surprisingly little disturbance or destruction, in view of the serious nature of the conflict; the end came on May 12, with the calling-off of the strike after only eight days.

Towards the end of the Conservative administration interest in the subject of Scottish self-government was re-awakened in certain quarters. The Liberals' Home Rule plan, adopted in 1924 and reaffirmed in subsequent years, was simply one of devolution. The British Parliament—in which Scotland should still be represented—should retain control of war, defence, foreign and imperial affairs, currency, customs and excise, and kindred affairs. A Scottish Parliament, based on the existing constituencies, was to be responsible for all internal affairs, social services, education, transport, taxation and so forth. No progress, however, was being made along these lines, and about 1927 a more extreme movement, distrustful of moderate methods, began to manifest itself. A rather obscure

body working for complete independence, the Scots National League, was reported to be making converts, and a Scottish author, Mr. C. M. Grieve, published a brief but vitriolic book, *Albyn*, to show the need for a national regeneration in the face of the threatened complete provincialization of the country under the baleful influence of the union with England. A companion volume, *Caledonia*, by Mr. G. M. Thomson, argued in equally lurid language that Scotland must assert herself and recover her national identity against the alien Irish population who were dragging her down. From discordant elements like these, agreeing only on the need for a separate parliament and supported by the literary group interested in a cultural renaissance, was born, in 1928, the Scottish Nationalist party. Prominent in the party, in addition to the authors already named, were Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham, Mr. Compton Mackenzie and Mr. John MacCormick. Its policy from the start was prejudiced by a partisan interpretation of history and by wild and obviously fallacious statements to the effect that Scotland was paying more to the Treasury than she received in return; it was on safer ground when it stressed the existing congestion of business at Westminster and the difficulties and high costs of obtaining legislative changes there. It failed to attract the older Liberal Home Rulers and, despite considerable attention from the press, won the favour of a few publicists rather than of the people at large.

The general election of 1929—the first to be contested on adult suffrage—saw the emergence of Labour as the strongest party in Britain, though still appreciably short of a clear majority. That majority it just managed to obtain in Scotland, with thirty-eight seats as against twenty-two to the Conservatives and fourteen to the Liberals; these results flattered its actual quota of support to a slight extent, since, out of every eleven voters, approximately five were Socialists, four Conservatives and two Liberals. The Communist vote rose to nearly 25,000 and the

Scottish Nationalist party, contesting only two seats, made a poor start with 3,300 votes and two forfeited deposits.

The four general elections held during the 'twenties showed sweeping changes in Scotland's political complexion. No party commanded a clear majority in the first two, but in both of them the Socialists led, with the Liberals second and the Conservatives third. The 1924 result was a definite win for Conservatism, that of 1929 for Labour, in each case by the narrowest possible margin. The Liberal vote shrank fairly steadily until, by the close of the decade, it amounted to less than one-fifth of the whole; no more than eight seats could be regarded as "safe"—the five most northerly county constituencies and the Greenock, Leith, and Montrose burghs—and in very few others could prospects in any circumstances be called really bright. In Glasgow, an old stronghold of the Liberals, not only did they fail to win one of the fifteen seats after 1922: they polled only one-thirtieth of the total votes in 1929. The Conservatives' position, on the other hand, was improving all the time, as witness their retention of twenty-two seats in 1929, the year of defeat. They had unbroken records over the four elections in eight constituencies, seven of them in the burghs; and they had made themselves practically secure in several others, like South Aberdeenshire, Eastern Renfrewshire, North Edinburgh and the Cathcart division of Glasgow, where they had displaced Liberals. Labour could point to no fewer than twenty-two seats which had withstood every attack; fourteen of them were burgh constituencies, and of these eight were Glasgow divisions. Like the Unionists, the Socialists had several conquests from the Liberals which seemed secure against any other party—the Motherwell division of Lanarkshire, East Edinburgh, the Kirkcaldy, Paisley, and Stirling and Falkirk burghs. It should be added that the Universities, by a tacit understanding, invariably returned two Conservatives and one Liberal.

It is a noticeable feature of these election results that by far the greater number of "safe" seats were to be found in the burghs. Indeed it seemed that by 1929 the results of almost all the burgh contests could be forecasted with some approach to certainty. The Conservatives would hold nine of them, the Liberals three, and the Socialists eighteen; only in three—West Edinburgh and the Maryhill and Partick divisions of Glasgow—could there be said to be serious doubt as to the issue. The three Liberal seats are a modern reminder of a great tradition: Leith and Montrose have had continuous Liberal representation since 1832, whilst Greenock went Unionist over the Home Rule question, but returned to her former allegiance in 1906. But the reasons for the fixity of political trends in the other burgh seats are economic and social rather than historical. Cities and even smaller towns tend to fall into zones, to be either predominantly industrial or predominantly residential and suburban, and the people vote for the party which seems to champion their class-interests. The distinction is seen at its best in Glasgow between, say, Conservative Hillhead and Socialist Gorbals; but it is also clear elsewhere, as between Ayr burghs and Dumbarton burghs.

Parliamentary contests within the burghs were thus tending to become more and more affairs between Conservatism and Labour, each with a large quota of "safe" seats and a few debatable ones between them. Municipal elections, generally fought on non-party or local issues until the rise of Labour in the pre-War years, followed a similar line of development, save that here the candidates of the right were styled Moderates, a term inclusive of both Liberals and Conservatives. In the circumstances the sinking of the identity of Liberalism was inevitable. Moreover, where Liberalism was not already squeezed out from the parliamentary politics of the burghs, its chief opposition came from Labour. Not only was this true of its three remaining burgh strongholds: its losing fight in the few constituencies in which it still had an interest, like

Paisley and some Edinburgh divisions, was also mainly against Socialism, while Conservative and Liberal frankly co-operated in attacking the two Labour seats at Dundee. Everything conspired to make urban Liberalism "moderate" and anti-radical in tone. The press helped by calling for a common front against the Socialist menace; the contrast between Socialist collectivism and Liberal individualism was stressed, rather than points which were common to both. It is undeniable that by 1929 Liberal sentiment in the towns was strongly pro-Conservative and anti-Labour.

The counties, with their less compact, more varied electorates, yield no such clear-cut results. True, the Liberal tradition remained strong enough in the northern Highlands to ensure the return of five members, Socialists were returned at every election for eight constituencies, stretching over the central industrial belt from South Ayrshire to West Fife, whilst Conservative candidates were unfailingly successful with the mainly residential division of North Ayrshire and Bute. But in the remaining county divisions, amounting to twenty-four, results were more open. Almost half of these are located in Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and the adjoining parts of the central plain; they differ little as regards economic interests from the neighbouring towns, and it is natural to find a close resemblance in politics as well. In every case the contests by 1929 lay between Conservatism and Labour, with the Liberals either not putting forward a candidate or making a poor third. In the other group of doubtful county seats, some thirteen in number, the position is quite different. Typical of them are Dumfries and Galloway in the south, Perthshire, East Fife and Angus in the midlands, Argyll and Banffshire in the Highlands; agriculture and fishing are the chief industries. Liberalism is strong here and, since its principal rival is Conservatism, it is independent and radical in tone, and looks back rather to the Gladstonian tradition; it is certainly not more sympathetic to Conservatism than to Labour. There is thus a cleavage or at least divergent

tendencies, between the "moderate" Liberalism of the towns (where it is weakening) and the sturdy radicalism of the farming counties (where almost alone it remains powerful), and this makes it hard to see how the party could ever now come to a permanent understanding with either of its rivals which would be equally acceptable to both groups.

It would thus be true to say that at the close of the post-War decade the Conservatives were "safe" in twelve seats, mostly found in the residential parts of the towns, the Liberals in nine, including the farming areas of the north and a few towns, the Socialists in twenty-six, containing the town and village workers of the industrialized belt. The twenty-seven "doubtful" seats fall into two groups, according to whether agrarian or industrial interests predominate: in the former the real struggle lay between Conservatism and Liberalism, in the latter, between Conservatism and Labour, with the natural result that the Conservatives, fighting in both groups with fair chances of success, usually did better than the others, and cut down Labour's long lead in "safe" seats. In round numbers out of every six votes in Scotland at this time, two were Conservatives, one Liberal, two Socialists, and the sixth was the man with the non-party vote, whose suffrage was vitally important to all of them. The tendency was for this sixth vote to favour Labour; at least it had done so to a sufficient extent to give that party the largest aggregate poll at three successive elections.

Scottish Conservatism, though not as relatively strong as English, had made a notable advance, which cannot be explained solely as the outcome of the various secessions from the Liberals; a political party lives and grows on present realities, not on past memories. The party's chief claim for support rests on its insistence upon "sound" finance—even its opponents generally allow that its budget policy is safe, if unspectacular. This fact makes a specially strong appeal to the voter who has something to lose through violent

change, be he *rentier*, employer, merchant, salaried man, possessor of savings, or even wage-worker, as well as to the disinterested voter whose sympathies are with stability rather than reform. All this means that true "Conservatism," for the first time, was a powerful political sentiment among the people of post-War Scotland; and there can be no doubt that the factor which, above all, contributed to its strengthening was the fear of the effects upon a nation, already over-taxed and over-burdened with the debts incurred during the War, of Labour's ambitious and costly programme of social expenditure. That programme, as the records show, was intensely popular in the working-class communities, and, in view of Liberalism's current ineffectiveness, it would be true to regard Scotland's long tradition of political radicalism as having become almost completely Socialistic soon after the end of the War.

Scotland's contribution to the success of the Labour movement in 1929 was reflected in the allocation of important offices in the new Government. With Mr. MacDonald in the premiership, Mr. Henderson at the Foreign Office, Mr. Graham at the Board of Trade, as well as the veteran Mr. Adamson at the Scottish Office and Viscount Haldane as Lord Chancellor, it could be said that never before—with the possible exception of the first brief Labour ministry in 1924—had Scotsmen played such a large part in a British administration. The extreme left-wing Socialists, especially those of Glasgow and Clydeside, were displeased over their non-representation in the Cabinet: one of their number, Mr. Wheatley, had been Minister of Health in 1924. This group was further estranged as the months rolled on and the Government, which depended on Liberal support for a majority in the House of Commons, failed to achieve "Socialism in our time." The I.L.P. movement, always strong in and around Glasgow, became more and more openly critical of the Labour Cabinet and tended to sympathize with Communism rather than with the majority's

programme. But in the nation at large, though the press was almost unanimously hostile, there was little evidence of any altered attitude. In the five Scottish by-elections which occurred during two years of Labour rule, Socialist candidates retained seats at Kilmarnock, Shettleston, St. Rollox and Rutherglen, while the Conservatives kept their hold on East Renfrew. The verdict of the Scottish people seemed to be for "No Change."

The collapse of Labour in the autumn of 1931 implies, therefore, a change of heart in the electorate, even more thorough in Scotland than in England, and demands some sort of explanation in accord with the foregoing considerations. The controversial nature of the issues involved makes a dispassionate survey of these very recent occurrences hard to achieve, but some of the main facts are not in dispute. The most severe of worldwide financial and economic depressions of the post-War epoch struck Britain during the late summer, when the Government, its expert advisers and the vast majority of the nation admitted the need for economies to avert the threat of an unbalanced budget and a "flight from the pound." The Cabinet were unable to agree about the nature and scope of these economies and the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, lifelong devotees of the Labour cause, failed to convince their colleagues and joined with their Conservative and Liberal critics to form a National Government in the interests of economy and a stable currency. The new Government, based on the support of almost all the Conservatives, the majority of the Liberals and a minority of Labour, claimed that its predecessor had come to grief because, in the face of a grave national crisis, it would not forgo its wild-cat schemes of social expenditure and class legislation, even at the cost of inflation and bankruptcy. The Labour thesis was that a bankers' plot had deliberately created the "crisis" and that the leaders had fallen into the Tory trap and betrayed their own party. With these conflicting views as to what had happened, the National Government

and the Opposition—the bulk of the Labour party and a small group of Liberal independents—appealed to the country in October, 1931.

The ensuing general election was a highly emotional affair, which the pro-Government attitude of almost all the important newspapers depicted as being practically a conflict between patriotism and treachery. On a long view, exception might be taken on some points to the ethics of the "National" presentation of the case: there was considerable hedging over the question of tariffs, there was much theatricality in the talk of the horrors of inflation which would accompany a Labour régime, and the stress laid upon the special threat to Post Office savings was perhaps an unfair, if shrewd, bid for working class votes. These matters no doubt helped to swell the Government majority. But in the main the issue was clear—it was simply the favourite Conservative maxim of "sound" finance—and the verdict of the people unmistakable. The Government secured the unprecedented majority of 491 in a House of 615 members. Though it failed to carry Wales, it succeeded with "radical" Scotland in only a slightly less striking degree than it did with Conservative England; even Dundas, with all the forces of bribery, patronage and a narrow franchise at his disposal, could hardly have bettered its showing of sixty-seven Scottish seats won, seven lost.

This result, on the face of it, seems to belie the analysis of Scottish political sympathies already given, but a glance at the actual votes recorded shows that that analysis is applicable even to the abnormal conditions of 1931. Government candidates polled 1,368,056 votes, the Opposition, 806,364. If allowance be made for the unopposed returns of eleven Government candidates, these totals should be about 1,600,000 votes for the National parties, and over 830,000 for their opponents. As it always does, our parliamentary system operated to magnify success at the polls: in Scotland it transformed a two-to-one victory in votes into almost a ten-to-one victory in representation.

What had actually happened to our hypothetical six voters was this. The Government could rely on the two Conservatives and the one Liberal (Liberal "independency" had all but disappeared), and it secured the suffrage of the sixth or non-party voter, to leave the two Labour electors in an ineffectual minority. By obtaining almost double the votes cast for the Opposition, "National" candidates were able to win all the Scottish seats with the exception of seven Socialist strongholds in and around Glasgow.

Apart from the fact that the country's verdict was above all a judgment against Socialism, and the demonstration of Labour's dependence on the non-party voter even for some "safe" seats, there is not much to be learnt from the results of this unusual election. Conservative and Liberal votes were pooled in most cases in favour of a single candidate who might belong to either party, and, in the one constituency where a National Labour member stood—Kilmarnock—they were given to a man who belonged to neither. The pact between the two older parties was, on the whole, well observed. In the burghs the understanding was, indeed, perfect: in no case did Conservative and Liberal candidates oppose each other. In the counties, Liberals were given a free hand in the far north and in some other constituencies, while Conservatives rallied the Government forces in the industrial areas—they alone fought Labour in every division of Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, Stirlingshire and the Lothians, as well as elsewhere. But in seven of the mainly farming communities where Labour was weak, like Angus, Perthshire and Galloway, the two old parties put forward rival champions of the National Government. In the circumstances the aggregate party-votes—over 1,050,000 Conservative, and almost 290,000 Liberal—are no criterion of party strength. What is significant, however, is the fact that the Liberals, with the maximum of Conservative goodwill and support, could hold only sixteen Scottish seats: the contrast between this state of affairs and that of 1918, when, during another

"non-party" election, Liberals in and out of the Coalition won thirty-four seats, is a striking commentary on the party's decline in this country.

While the main issue of 1931 lay between the Government and Labour, there were several minority movements to be reckoned as elements of the Opposition. Liberal independency appeared only in Roxburgh and Selkirk, where its candidate got almost 17,500 votes. Dundee's senior member, Mr. Scrymgeour, stood and lost as a Prohibition candidate, though his record showed that the distinction between him and his Socialist colleagues was one without a difference. More important, in view of the rebellious tendencies of Clydeside left-wing Socialists, was the success of one of their number, as an Independent in opposition to regular Labour, at Shettleston: before long these men became the nucleus of a reorganized I.L.P., a small group in which Mr. Maxton, member for Bridgeton, was the most outstanding. Their claim was that official Labour was too timid to represent the true interests of the workers, and their command of vituperation and abuse, if it repelled the mass of ordinary voters, won the approbation and devotion of thousands in the industrial belt. Their efforts, as an outlet for extreme radicalism, may have served as a deterrent to Communism, which was making small headway in Scotland, though not so small as in England; its total vote had advanced from over 24,000 in 1929 to over 31,000 in 1931, but, spread over seven constituencies, that meant mostly forfeited deposits. All talk of a Communist menace in Scotland is thus disingenuous scaremongering or mere self-deception.

Scottish Nationalists, confining themselves to the cause of self-government, had fought both by-elections and municipal elections in 1929-1931. Little progress had been made, though it is to be recorded that at East Renfrew, in 1930, their man did *not* forfeit his deposit; and this achievement, such as it was, they repeated at St. Rollox in the following year. In 1931 they scored a distinct triumph with the election of

Mr. Compton Mackenzie as Lord Rector of Glasgow University, thereby terminating a tradition of Conservative rectors. Even if extra-political factors had something to do with the result and if, in any case, there is a material difference between the politics of the student body and of the whole nation, the Nationalists might be excused for hailing the victory as a bright augury for the future. This promise was hardly realized in the general election of 1931, in which they fought five seats for an average of almost 4,200 votes and forfeited two deposits. The Home Rule movement could not be said to have caught the imagination of the Scottish people.

The general difficulty of assessing current trends of public opinion is accentuated, as regards Scotland and the first two years' record of the National Government, by the almost unanimously favourable attitude of the press. The large and influential body of Scottish Conservatives, at least, were enthusiastic in their approbation: as the East Fife by-election showed, there was almost no support in this country for "Die-hard" Toryism inspired by ultra-Imperialist aims and sponsored by newspaper magnates in London. Liberals showed more restiveness, condemning departures from Free Trade principles and calling upon their leaders to join the Opposition long before they finally did so, in November, 1933. Labour, of course, let slip no opportunity for criticism, though it was hampered by the flank attack of the I.L.P. Scots Nationalists made little headway, polling less in the first three by-elections than they had done in 1931. The Government was thus enabled to retain, in 1932, 1933 and 1934, contested seats at Dumbartonshire, Montrose burghs, East Fife, Kilmarnock and the Universities, though the majority dropped steeply in every case from the impressive figures of 1931 and dwindled at Montrose almost to vanishing point. In a word, the country acquiesced in the rule of the National Government, if with an inevitable diminution of the enthusiasm manifested at the height of the crisis.

Towards the close of 1932 the Home Rule issue reasserted itself. During that year the publication of Sir Alexander MacEwen's *The Thistle and the Rose*, a temperate study of the condition of Scotland under the Union, marked the not unwelcome admixture of common sense and responsibility to the cause of self-government. In September was formed the Scottish Party, which agreed on the need of a Parliament for Scottish affairs but renounced the idea of separation from England and reaffirmed loyalty to Crown and Empire. Its aims were practically those of the Liberal Home Rulers and its leaders were Liberals like the Duke of Montrose and Sir Alexander MacEwen. Its "moderate" tone, contrasting with the Nationalists' demand for repeal of the Union as a first step, secured for it a good deal of favourable publicity in the London press as well as in that of Scotland. In November 1932 the Scottish Unionist Association removed any doubt as to where it stood by a unanimous rejection of Home Rule. This decision was no surprise; in the following month one of the arguments for self-government was shown to be a fallacy, for a White Paper revealed the fact that Scotland actually paid rather less money and received considerably more than her relative population warranted. Discussion and controversy continued, with much irrelevant talk about Danish and Belgian taxation, but the chief development of 1933 was the approach of the Nationalists to the position of the "moderate" Home Rulers, marked by their decision to fight for self-government within the framework of the Empire and their willingness to co-operate with other bodies having similar aims. This tendency reached its climax at the Kilmarnock by-election of November 1933, when the Scots Nationalists and the Scottish Party agreed to support a common candidate, Sir Alexander MacEwen.

That by-election has a special significance, apart from the fact that, as this book goes to press, it affords the best recent test of Scottish political opinion. The mixed urban, industrial and agricultural population of

the Kilmarnock division of Ayrshire suggests something like a cross-section of the whole nation. Returning a Coalition Liberal in 1918 and a Liberal in 1922, it voted Labour in 1923, went over to the Conservatives in 1924, came back to Labour in 1929 and supported the National Government in 1931; its record is thus very similar to that of the country in general, and it might be said that the party or Government which can win Kilmarnock can win Scotland. The by-election result is thus worth a careful study. Over 77 per cent. of the electors voted, and the Government retained the seat with 12,500 votes. Some 17,500 votes were cast for the Socialists, but, since these were split into almost 10,000 for regular Labour and over 7,500 for the I.L.P., this family quarrel cost Labour the election. The Home Rule candidate, a prominent ex-Liberal who had the help of Liberal speakers on his platform at the same time as the Scottish Liberal Federation was once more pledging itself to Home Rule, polled over 6,000 votes: it is not unjust to regard this figure as an index of Home Rule and independent Liberal sentiment in the constituency, just as the Government figure represents the Conservative vote reinforced by Liberal Nationalism. Hence the result shows Conservative and Labour as strong forces, though the latter is weakened by internal differences, Liberalism tending to sink its identity in other groups, and Home Rule a minority-movement.

If Kilmarnock pointed to a definite, though limited, tendency towards Labour's recovery, the municipal elections held throughout Scotland in November 1933 showed a more decisive swing in the same direction. Though these local contests often had little enough to do with the affairs of Parliament—they did not in any sense reflect the rapid changes of the years 1928–1932—their value as guides to political opinion is not negligible. That the Socialists registered many gains in the 1933 elections to the Scottish town councils and that they acquired control for the first time in Glasgow, Greenock and Dunfermline, are facts of deep signifi-

cance ; also important is the qualifying circumstance that that victory was shared by regular Labour and its insurgent wing, the I.L.P. Whilst much may happen before the next general election, which, in any case, will be fought on issues and by parties which cannot now be foreseen, the available evidence indicates that the Socialists have recovered much of the ground lost in 1931, though their domestic quarrels, far from being composed, suggest a source of future trouble.

Reviewing the events of the last hundred years, it becomes clear that the first Reform Act, despite its essentially moderate character, at once released the pent-up forces of Scottish radicalism, which, operating smoothly within the Liberal party, gave that party a clear field for over half a century in Scotland and, along with the Irish vote, imparted to British politics a permanent bias towards progressive ideas. There was a sympathetic response from the great majority of the strongly evangelical Scots Presbyterians, and this in turn made Liberalism something of a religious and philosophical creed ; against its intense and passionate fervour, its mystical belief in its destiny as the servant of personal and national morality, the Scots Tories, with no valuable traditions, could do nothing. In the 'eighties, however, they gained an ally that *had* a long tradition, for the Liberals' espousal of Home Rule policies reawakened the slumbering forces of Scottish unionism, which, passing from mere negation of Irish separatism to conscious Imperialism, gave the opponents of the dominant party something definite and altruistic on which to base their opposition.

Scottish radicalism during the pre-War generation was thus faced by Scottish unionism ; after the War it met a stronger enemy in Scottish Conservatism, which began to achieve importance in the political thought of the nation in 1918. Then and thereafter, absorbing the older " unionist " tradition in open hostility to all separatist movements, and striving for security and stability, especially in the financial sphere, Conservatism emerged as one of the two dominant factors in

Scots politics ; as the elections of 1918, 1924, and 1931 show, it has a great reserve of power in the widespread conviction that its policy is the only safe one in a national emergency, supposed or real. Radicalism has meanwhile changed from a Liberal to a Socialist basis, with the result that Labour, always popular in the industrial communities, has become the only radical party that matters, while the Liberals are a dwindling and ineffective remnant. As for the third traditional factor in Scots politics—nationalism—in so far as it has not been diverted into British and Imperial channels, it has found outlet, during the last half-century, in the Home Rule agitation and, latterly, in Scots Nationalist activities, which, though they have both so far failed as to their main objective of self-government, have had, and still are having, useful results in directing the attention of other parties to Scottish grievances, in securing special treatment for special problems, and in inducing different governments to undertake needed reforms. Thus in the political thought of Scotland to-day we may see at work forces the origin of which can be traced back at least to the Reformation. Changed outwardly and garbed in twentieth-century costume, the three political traditions which have inspired the Scottish people in the past are still operative—nationalism, as vigilant and suspicious as ever, though, in the absence of real provocation, with few followers devoted to its exclusive service ; unionism, wider and more comprehensive than in early days, and wedded now to a new force, Conservatism ; and radicalism, which, having exhausted the possibilities of Liberalism, looks forward to a Socialist Scotland in a Socialist Britain.

CHAPTER VI

THE GOVERNMENT OF SCOTLAND

IF the Union with England, both immediately and in the long run, exercised a profound influence on Scottish political activities, its effect on the government of the country was hardly less noticeable. Sooner or later every branch of the administration felt the changed conditions of the time and was adapted to meet them. Many of these changes have already been mentioned, since they were the subject of keen political controversy, but others, again, were the natural, almost automatic, results of the slow, quiet evolution of things from a primitive to a more complex state. In the aggregate, they compose the recent constitutional history of Scotland, and are of sufficient importance to warrant separate and detailed treatment, for to their intrinsic interest is added the fact that only by their help can we hope to form a clear picture of the framework, the governmental machine, inside which the national life has been and is carried on. We shall consider in turn parliament, executive government, national finance, law and local government.

One of the first and most obvious difficulties which were presented to the Commissioners of Union concerned the method of fusing the two Parliaments into one. The Scots wished to preserve their constitution as far as possible, but, in view of the disproportionate numbers of the two nations, they could hardly hope to be allowed simply to import into Westminster *en masse* their 150 peers, sixty-four shire members and sixty-seven burgesses. This would over-represent Scotland even according to mere numbers, for her population at that time is generally guessed (in the absence of census figures) as being about one million, compared to

England's six millions, or thereby; but it should be remembered that representation was not then based on population, either in England or Scotland, but on the traditional electoral units, the county or shire, and the borough or burgh, which were also local government units. Moreover Englishmen could point to the great disproportion in wealth and revenue: Scotland's land-tax was to be only £48,000 annually against very nearly £2,000,000 from England, while her customs and excise yielded between £60,000 and £65,000, compared to England's total of close on £2,300,000. These figures indicated that England could and did pay nearly forty times as much as Scotland into the national exchequer.

The arrangement come to was a compromise between these two proportions—one-sixth by numbers, one-fortieth by wealth—for Scotland got rather more than one-twelfth of England's representation. Sixteen Scots peers were to be elected to the Upper House, where there were already not far from 200 lords spiritual and temporal, and forty-five commoners were to be added to England's 513. It was left to the Scots Parliament to work out details, and this was done by a separate Act passed in February 1707.

As regards the quota of peers, if the actual number, though in fact less generous than that allotted to Ireland in 1800, was not unfair, the interpretation of its implications led to ill-feeling. Scots peers' sons, from 1707 to 1832, might not sit in the Commons for a Scottish constituency, but, since this view seems to have been endorsed by Scots members as well as English, it cannot be termed a hardship. Differences arose, however, over the position of Scots peers who were given British peerages. From 1709 they were denied the right to vote in the election of the sixteen representative peers; more serious still, the Tory Parliament decided in 1711 that such nobles might not sit as British peers, but only if elected among the chosen sixteen, and this rule was not rescinded till 1782. It was the possibility of handing over to the government

of the day power to create a great *bloc* of Scots votes which inspired these minor infringements of the Union, but in course of time all grievances disappeared, to the point that nowadays the Scottish peerage is really over-represented. Most holders of surviving Scottish titles also hold United Kingdom peerages, and, of those who do not, sixteen are elected to each Parliament, so that the number of those without any claim to a seat diminishes both through extinction of titles and acquisition of new ones : already it is below twenty.

There was a certain ingenuity in the allocation of the forty-five Commons seats among the constituencies. Thirty were given to the thirty-three shires, twenty-seven of which elected one member apiece, while the other six were grouped in pairs (Bute and Caithness, Nairn and Cromarty, Clackmannan and Kinross) for representation in alternate parliaments only. The royal burghs, over two centuries senior to the shires in a parliamentary sense, and limited to sixty-six in number prior to the Union, were not merged in the shires, but allowed to elect the remaining fifteen commoners. This was done by means of reverting to the Cromwellian expedient of arranging them in groups. Edinburgh returned one member, the other sixty-five composed fourteen "districts" of four or five burghs each, and the districts returned one member apiece. The burghs were grouped, not according to size or importance, but by geographical propinquity. Thus Glasgow, Rutherglen, Dumbarton and Renfrew sent one member between them, while the fifteen rather small Fife burghs sent two, and helped to send other two. This serves to illustrate the attachment of the Scots to their traditional electoral system, which regarded constituencies as integral units, not to be disturbed on a mere point of convenience.

The same conservative spirit determined that within the constituencies the old voting arrangements should be retained. The normal shire qualification was land worth £400 per year, which gave the vote to some 2,500 in the whole of Scotland ; even in 1821, when the

population was just under 2,100,000, of whom about 1,600,000 lived in the shires, there were some 3,000 voters. It was possible to compile, as Sir Charles Adam did in 1788, a list showing the political sympathies of every shire voter in Scotland. Each burgh member was chosen by the town council or its delegates, and since this body was a co-optive closed corporation, averaging perhaps twenty in number, there would be about 1,300 burgh voters in Scotland. In the counties the position was rendered more anomalous by the creation, especially between 1770 and 1790, of fictitious votes, the collusive transfer of superiorities over land, without actual possession, conveying votes to the real landlord's friends; while in the burghs all attempts at reform proved abortive. Hence we may picture the forty-five Scots members, from 1707 to 1832, as deriving their title from less than 5,000 wealthy landowners and their clients and well-to-do burgesses.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the five Reform Acts swept away the parliamentary terms of the Union, which, though a contract in form, was not unalterable, since Scotland freely accepted the English doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty over all causes. Thus, no doctrinaire doubts about the legality of the reforms, in view of the Union agreements, were ever put forward; had they been a powerful counter-argument, in the matter of Scotland's interest, was to hand in the proportionate gain in representation involved in all the Redistribution Acts. Mere population came to mean more and more in the fixing of electoral units, and, though both countries had increased enormously since 1707, the proportion of six to one remained, in 1832, almost unchanged (England had over 14,000,000 inhabitants, Scotland just under 2,400,000), so that any recognition of numerical claims would favour Scotland.

What happened in 1832 was that the quota was raised from forty-five to fifty-three by the creation of eight new burgh seats. Glasgow and Edinburgh were given two members apiece, and Dundee, Aberdeen and

Perth were taken out of their groups to return one member each. Moreover, "parliamentary burghs" now appear, standing outside the closed circle of royal burghs, but important enough, largely as a result of industrial changes, to warrant separate representation. Paisley and Greenock now returned a member each, while others, like Falkirk, Kilmarnock, Leith, Oban and Peterhead, were added to the groups, which were unaltered in number (fourteen), but reorganized. In the shires, no change in the total number of seats was made, but alternative representation was done away with by grouping together small neighbouring counties (Clackmannan and Kinross, Elgin and Nairn, Ross and Cromarty). Thus the position from 1832 till 1868 was that Scotland had fifty-three M.P.s, England 500, and Ireland 105.

The changes in voting qualifications were even more important, since they swept away all the gross abuses in town and country, but, as in all the Reform Acts, they have less special interest, since they followed fairly closely on the English changes; after 1832 the basic tenure in the burghs became the £10 household, while £10 owners and various leaseholders got the vote in the shires.

By the time of the next reform (1867-68) the population of Britain had again forged ahead, but England did not yet exceed Scotland by seven to one. The redistribution scheme gave Scotland sixty seats out of an unchanged total of 658. Of the seven additional members, two were allocated to the shires, three to the burghs, and two to the Universities, which had been refused representation in 1832. The counties of Aberdeen, Ayr and Lanark were each split into two one-member divisions, while Peebles and Selkirk were joined. Glasgow got a third member, Dundee a second, and a new group, the Hawick Burghs, came into being. The franchise was greatly extended, to include all rate-paying householders and £10 lodgers in the burghs, £5 owners and £14 occupiers in the shires. The reform, despite the cynical party-spirit that

sponsored it, was a great advance, but it left several anomalies and inconsistencies ; consequently, further change came as early as 1884-85.

By that time the population-ratio of England and Scotland was a fraction over seven to one, but even at that Scotland was still due an increase, and this point is especially important in view of the fact that Gladstone's Bill was a bold and logical measure based directly on population-units. Towns of less than 15,000 inhabitants would be included in the counties, and limits (50,000 and 165,000) were fixed for one-and two-member constituencies ; moreover, single-member divisions should thenceforth become the rule. Scotland, with seventy-two members out of the reconstituted house of 670, could no longer complain. The shires got seven new members, Fife, Perth and Renfrew joining the two-member category and Lanark having no fewer than six divisions. The big towns likewise gained, Glasgow getting seven seats instead of three, Edinburgh four instead of two, Aberdeen two instead of one, while the liquidation of the Haddington and Wigtown groups made the net gain in burgh members five. The groups were modified and reorganized, but the persistence of the idea is significant ; in the face of the hard numerical rules applied to English towns, the Scottish political tradition was strong enough to force the retention of thirteen groups of burghs, in which very few of the component towns could have exceeded the minimum used elsewhere. A vast extension of the electorate, especially by way of bringing in the farm-labourer, was brought about through the virtual equalization of the vote in town and country on the basis of household and lodger suffrage.

The 1918 Act swept away all property qualifications and conferred the vote on men over twenty-one and women over thirty—a discrimination which was removed in 1929 by the Act which gave the franchise to all persons over twenty-one. An enormous increase in the number of voters was, of course, brought about ; the 1921 Census of Scotland revealed the fact that 56 per cent. of

the male population, 36 per cent. of the female, were qualified ; and, in the general election of 1931, the electorate equalled almost 63 per cent. of the entire population. The latest Census figures available in 1918 were those of 1911, which were followed closely in the new arrangements. The membership of the House of Commons was raised to 707, for a population of over 45,000,000—or just over 64,000 people per seat ; Scotland got seventy-four members, a figure which bears practically the same proportion to her population of 4,760,000.

Radical changes were made in the electoral system. The national ratio of inhabitants per seat could not be rigidly adhered to throughout, but the old divisions were completely reorganized with that figure in view. There were to be thirty-eight county members, thirty-three burgh members and three from the Universities. Most of the counties were coupled together, like Berwick and Haddington, Caithness and Sutherland, and sometimes such merged pairs were split up in a new way ; thus Ayr and Bute gave three divisions, South Ayr, Kilmarnock, Bute and Northern. Populous counties were cut into constituencies like East and West Fife, or into areas named after their chief town, like the Coatbridge, Hamilton and Motherwell divisions of Lanarkshire. In this way roughly equal electorates were set up varying from the Western Isles division of Invernessshire and Ross and Cromarty (with 46,732 people) to West Lothian (with 80,161).

The burghs, too, were drastically overhauled. Most of the old groups of small towns went into the shires. At the other end, the big towns gained markedly, Glasgow getting fifteen seats, Edinburgh five, Dundee and Aberdeen each retaining their two ; only Leith, Paisley and Greenock were left as single-member burghs. Six districts, however, were found, after some re-shuffling, to be populous enough to warrant separate representation—the Ayr, Dumbarton, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Montrose, and Stirling and Falkirk districts. Of the twenty-five burghs concerned only fifteen are

royal—and yet the idea of the group of burghs was evolved solely in order to preserve the rights of the ancient royal burghs. That this adaptation of the traditional political system to a population-basis was not unsuccessful is shown by the fact that the extremes were the Glasgow divisions of Partick (50,287) and Gorbals (89,107). On the whole the redistribution scheme of 1918 was an ingenious device for retaining as much of the old as would suit the new.

Since then, the creation of the Irish Free State and the consequent withdrawal of most of the Irish members has reduced the number of M.P.s to 615—528 English, seventy-four Scottish, and thirteen from Northern Ireland. The extension of the franchise in 1929 was unaccompanied by any change in electoral districts, but the Census of 1931 indicates that there are statistical grounds for the contention that minor alterations might be made. England has advanced by close on 3,000,000 since 1911, while the corresponding Scottish increase is less than 82,000, so that the ratio of the two countries is now over eight to one, and Scotland's ever-expanding quota is due for a slight contraction. Leaving aside Northern Ireland, which, being on a federal basis, may be deemed to be sufficiently represented, as regards its interest in "imperial" affairs, by having thirteen members for its population of 1,250,000, and taking the remaining 602 as a fixed total (though there are many facts, notably the inadequate seating accommodation at Westminster, which point to the advisability of a reduction of numbers), the Census shows that Scotland is now entitled only to sixty-five members, and England to 537—a change-over of nine seats to correct the present Scottish over-representation. Any such adjustment would have to be at the expense of agrarian areas, since the big towns are still gaining slowly, as are the more industrial counties like Stirling and Renfrew, while the sparsely-peopled Highlands and North are losing heavily.

During the seventeenth century, the executive government of Scotland had been conducted mainly

through the Privy Council. This body had proved its usefulness after the Union of the Crowns had left Scotland without a resident monarch. The Lord High Commissioner represented the King at State functions, but an astute secretary in London, like Lauderdale, could really control affairs behind his back. After the Revolution Parliament took a much larger and more effective part in the actual government, but the Privy Council was expressly retained at the Union, though its eventual disappearance was foreseen. Actually, it was abolished as unnecessary in 1708, and soon after new arrangements were made. There were now two English Secretaries of State, with a rather untidy division of labour between them, whereby they shared responsibility for domestic affairs, while in the sphere of foreign policy one took the "northern department," one the southern; not till 1782 were separate Home and Foreign Secretaries appointed. During the first forty years of union, partly because of the importance of Scottish affairs, but mainly for political reasons, a third Secretary of State sometimes appears, whose special province was the administration of Scotland; naturally he was a Scotsman and prepared to support the Government. But the appointment was by no means regular: during the period from 1709 to 1746 (when the office was abolished), vacancies account for no less than twenty of the thirty-seven years. The Tories let the office lapse between Queensberry's death in July, 1711, and Mar's appointment in September, 1713, and only revived it then because Harley wished to set limits to Bolingbroke's influence. Another vacancy was deliberately created during the 'Fifteen rebellion to obviate jealousy and disputes between Argyll as military commander and Montrose as Secretary, while Roxburghe was dismissed in 1725 in the interests of cabinet solidarity. Duncan Forbes's approval of the decision not to name a successor can not be simply attributed to the fact that he himself was now Lord Advocate; he sincerely felt that, as things were, the Secretary's control of patronage was too easily abused.

The revival of the post in 1742 was little more than a party move to reward the Scots opposed to Walpole, and Tweeddale's utter incompetence in the 'Forty-five led inevitably to the unlamented end of the third Secretaryship in January, 1746. The purely secretarial duties were neither complex nor important enough to justify its continuance, but what did matter to the government was the influence that might be exercised over parliamentary elections.

For the remainder of the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth centuries, Scottish business fell to the department of one of the surviving Secretaries of State—the Northern Secretary till 1782, thereafter the Home Secretary. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, chief law officer of the Crown, acted, at first unofficially, later specifically, as his Under-Secretary for Scottish Affairs. But besides him the government generally employed some other prominent official to "manage" Scotland—to see to it that suitable men were chosen both as M.P.s and as representative peers. Already before 1746 Lord Islay had shown how, by deft manipulation just falling short of the legal interpretation of corruption, he could line up Scottish support behind Walpole, but "management" only reached its summit of perfectibility some fifty years later. Occasionally Advocate and Manager were one person, but in any case they co-operated very closely. Thus, while Islay controlled affairs in Parliament, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, appointed Lord Advocate in 1725, was a pillar of the government in Scotland; he continued to be so, as President of the Court of Session (1737-47) till his death.

Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, best typifies the management. As the younger Pitt's right-hand man and occupant of many offices—at the Treasury of the Navy, the Board of Control for India, the Home Office, War Office and Admiralty—he was able to dispense enormous patronage, and he did so, not to enrich himself, but to ensure control of the Scots members; in this he was so successful that he could usually depend on all

but some half-dozen of the forty-five. Though eventually ruined politically, he was no monster of vice ; it is true that he sanctioned the most inhuman oppression during the French Revolution scares, but it was felt in his day (except by a few enlightened Whigs very far out of office) that the smooth and speedy conduct of national affairs called for managerial tactics, and in many Scottish homes he was popular for his readiness to advance his compatriots in the army and the East India Company.

The abolition of the management in 1827 was one of Canning's minor changes which heralded the great era of reform, but a rather unsatisfactory system, or lack of system, was set up in its place. The Home Office continued to direct civil administration, the Lord Advocate retained some powers, but several somewhat casual and irresponsible Boards—Fisheries, Prisons, Supervision (for the Poor Law), Lighthouses, and so forth—were instituted, to operate from Edinburgh. Before long the need for reform became obvious. English methods tended to be applied indiscriminately to Scottish affairs, Home Office control was enforced through fear of the potentialities of a capable Lord Advocate, proposals for creating an Under-Secretaryship for Scotland and, later, a Local Government Board for Scotland were turned down, and it was really in spite of the clumsy machinery that Scottish government was carried on not too chaotically. The claim for the restitution of the Secretaryship, persistently advanced by Scots Liberals, could not be permanently evaded. The ramifications of Scottish business now required centralized control, and the old objections had lost their force with the disappearance of the grosser malpractices from the conduct of public affairs. The conversion of Scottish Tories, together with the powerful advocacy of Lord Rosebery, on the crest of the wave of Gladstonian reforms, inevitably brought about the creation of the Secretaryship for Scotland in 1885.

The fact that this essentially Liberal measure fell, through Gladstone's preoccupations, to be passed by a

Tory ministry probably affords contentious minds sufficient explanation of the anomalous circumstance that education was expressly excluded from the purview of the new official, to be put under a Committee ("my Lords") which has turned out to be rather nebulous, with the result that control has after all been shared by the Scottish Secretary and the responsible civil servants. Since the first appointment to the office, in August, 1885, Scottish affairs have been administered in a much more orderly manner than formerly, and it gained in prestige by its elevation, in 1926, to a Secretaryship of State. On the whole, however, it has been regarded as of secondary importance among government positions, though it has sometimes served as a stepping-stone to higher office, notably in the case of Mr. A. J. (later Earl) Balfour, Prime Minister from 1902 to 1905, who first attained Cabinet rank as Secretary for Scotland in 1886-87. And, if not spectacular, the Scottish Office has proved eminently useful in co-ordinating the numerous branches of modern governmental activity. For example, the Secretary and (since 1926) the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Scotland exercise real control over those bodies which are the lineal descendants of the Edinburgh Boards of the mid-nineteenth century. After many changes in name, organization and powers, these now comprise a Department of Health for Scotland, a Department of Agriculture for Scotland, a Prisons Department, a Fishery Board and others, all staffed by civil servants and experts, responsible to the Secretary—precisely like Whitehall departments of the non-political type.

One of the really thorny problems presented to the framers of the Union was that of linking up two fiscal systems. England had progressed far ahead of Scotland and consequently was more inured to regular taxation, direct and indirect, to meet the heavy costs of reasonably efficient government. The levelling-up process was part of the price Scotland was prepared to pay for the boon of free and equal trade, but it was

certain to lead to misunderstanding and friction, especially in the early years of union. Actually, such disputes rank among the few occasions on which Scotland displayed any interest in British politics. As time went on the tension relaxed until, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when new theories of taxation, expenditure and commerce were accepted and were equally applicable to all parts of Great Britain, it became virtually impossible for a fiscal issue to pit one nation against the other.

The actual troubles that arose belong rather to political than to constitutional history, and have been touched on in an earlier chapter ; here we must note the changes necessitated in the fiscal machinery of Scotland by the fact of union. The governmental offices were easily rearranged. The Scots Treasury was amalgamated with the English, and Scottish business shared with Irish one day of the working week—which was probably adequate for what had to be done. But both the English and Scottish Treasuries at just this time were tending to become formal and honorary rather than real centres of control, the power passing in England to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the civil servants, and perhaps it was this analogy that inspired the decision to set up, in Edinburgh, a Court of Exchequer, like the English one. It served as a connecting link and clearing-house between the collectors of revenue and the government in London, scrutinizing accounts and checking receipts of feudal dues, court-fines, crown rents, burgh-fermes, customs, excise and taxation. Whitehall, however, had the last word, and in 1833 it was found convenient to transfer revenue control to the Treasury, the Court of Session taking over the Exchequer's judicial functions in 1856.

Two considerations made the task of co-ordinating the fiscal systems somewhat easier. Direct taxation (which then meant simply land-tax), long the main source of revenue, was yielding in importance, even in backward Scotland, to customs and excise, and this fact made the former a less controversial issue. Secondly,

as regards indirect taxation—the really debatable subject—both countries had the same economic theories or prejudices ; they were equally convinced of the necessity for regulating imports and exports by tariffs, prohibitions, bounties and drawbacks, in such a way as to ensure the maximum hoarding of the national supply of money, as the only real wealth—in a word, mercantilism held undisputed sway.

In point of fact, the land-tax offered no difficulty. Taxation in Scotland comprised the monthly "cess," a fixed quota collected in each shire by the commissioners of supply, a group of influential gentry in whom we may discern the germ of the much later county council ; so many months' cess was voted periodically by Parliament to meet the national requirements. Since 1643 taxation had been much more nearly regular than formerly, and the people, now almost reconciled to the hard fact that the King could *not* "live of his own," paid not too grudgingly for the financing of the state. It was agreed at the union that Scotland should pay eight months' cess, or £48,000 sterling yearly, when England paid 4s. in the pound, and so on *pro rata*. As an English levy of 4s. in the pound produced very close on £2,000,000, this meant that Scotland was taxed at only one-fortieth of England. The terms were unquestionably generous, and even the possibility that the English were shrewd enough to realize that the land-tax was becoming a revenue not worth haggling over does not minimize the fact that almost quixotic consideration was shown to the poorer nation.

Adjustments in indirect taxation were much more complex, as is shown by the fact that eleven out of the twenty-five clauses of the Treaty deal with this subject. Since trade was to be free and equal between England and Scotland in the domestic market, in the colonies and in foreign commerce, customs and excise must be equated, but not too harshly or rapidly, for the immediate imposition of the heavier English duties on Scotland would not be the ideal method of commending the Union to that country. To ensure equal treatment,

bounties on exported oats, excise-duty on beer, import-dues and drawbacks on foreign salt used for curing fish or meat, were applied to Scotland. To make the transition to the new régime gradual, home-salt was to be duty-free for the first seven years, while no malt-tax was to be imposed for the duration of the war, which was, after all, an English war. For the future, indirect taxation must be entrusted to the united Parliament, which would surely impose burdens only when necessary and "with due regard to the circumstances and abilities of every part of the United Kingdom."

Two money-payments were promised to Scotland. The first was the well-known "Equivalent" (£398,085 10s. od.), to compensate her for undertaking joint responsibility for England's national debt (Scotland did not have one); it was reckoned according to the proportional revenue of the two countries. The second was a Scottish industrial development fund, granted as a return to Scotland for the greatly increased customs-revenue she would pay through the higher duties and the greater volume of trade confidently predicted. The Equivalent would be employed to make good private losses incurred through the change to English currency, to repay Darien losses and liquidate the Company, and to pay up such public debts as existed. Under the second head, £2,000 were to be granted annually for the space of seven years to develop Scottish wool manufactures, and thereafter might be applied to fisheries and other industries.

On the whole, these arrangements were equitable, and it was rather their interpretation and execution which led to disputes. As early as 1707 trouble arose. Was it permissible to import foreign goods into Scotland before May 1, paying duties lower than in England, for the express purpose of sending them down to England after that date, when trade became free between the two countries? Was it legal for English traders to get the drawback of 5d. per lb. on the tobacco-duty of 6d. by sending it to Scotland prior to the same date, merely to bring it down later for English consumption?

Was it politic of the English to be completely indiscriminating in their selection of customs-officers to work the new system, bound to be unpopular in Scotland in any case? Why was delivery of the Equivalent delayed for over three months? And why did the promised £2,000 wool-grant remain unpaid year after year? Such problems could only arise in the early stages of union, traders' sharp practices ending when union became a fact, the Equivalent being paid up in full, if late, and the wool-grant applied with twenty years' interest to other purposes in Scotland; but in the meantime much avoidable ill-feeling had been aroused, and a belief became widespread that the English were acting thus cavalierly in the conviction that they had bought Scotland's submission. We have seen that suspicions of this sort influenced the Scottish political outlook of the early eighteenth century.

Further difficulties appeared when the united Parliament, as foreseen at the Union, came to impose fresh duties. When a general duty on linen was enacted in 1711, the Scots felt that little regard was paid to "the circumstances and abilities" of Scotland, but their objections were brushed aside. Other matters gave offence, but above all else the question of a malt-tax. Exemption had been expressly promised, and in any case Scotland was not to be liable for the expenses of the War. When, however, a malt-duty was imposed in 1713 for that specific purpose, the Scots M.P.s could barely win their point; their claim was not conceded as a principle, but the country was grudgingly excused—for the time being. Again in 1725, with Walpole hard put to it for new revenue, the decision was taken to levy £20,000 from Scottish beer, first by way of a duty of 6d. per barrel, then as a malt-tax of 3d. per bushel; the resultant outcry and disturbances illustrate the difficulties of fiscal readjustment. The tendency to regard all customs-officers as English, alien and detestable, and a general readiness to condone smuggling, manifested themselves conspicuously in 1736 in the Porteous riots.

Though there was thus some lack of consideration shown for Scottish economic needs and characteristics, almost all the troubles were of an evanescent kind; the mere passage of time would tend to equalize trading conditions and level out administrative unevennesses. Trade, indeed, was slow to expand and justify the money grants made in expectation of such expansion, and it seems clear that during the bulk of the eighteenth century Scotland got rather more than she gave. That her governmental costs outweighed revenue receipts rests on the testimony of Duncan Forbes, who puts her revenue as low as £31,000 against expenses of £52,000, and to whom the deficit, largely due to liquor-smuggling to the detriment of the customs and to the growing social vice of tea-drinking, was both a cause of deep anxiety and a challenge to remedial action. But another half-century brought the cure. Scotland's industrial advance, together with, curiously enough, the people's addiction to heavily excised whisky, made her contribution to the joint Exchequer a valuable one. Indeed, Scotland became a financial asset during the nineteenth century. In 1868 Scottish taxation yielded £7,740,000, or much more than one-seventh of that of England. Little was spent, moreover, on social services and much on military and naval defences, and, since France was the chief enemy, Scotland did not even benefit locally from the presence of barracks or dockyards, which became concentrated in the south. No more Highland forts were built after the 'Forty-five and a century and a half elapsed before Redford barracks were put up to accommodate the last remaining cavalry unit, the Scots Greys (then in danger of losing their identity), and naval bases were developed at Rosyth, Invergordon and Scapa, the menace being now German rather than French.

The balance was again righted in the twentieth century—indeed, rather more than righted. This result flows naturally from our modern budgetary system. The main items of revenue, income-tax, super-tax, estate-duty, excise, customs and post-office

receipts, are imposed impartially on individuals and would fall equitably on England and Scotland, save that, being in a manner a levy on prosperity, they are of lighter incidence in depressed Scotland. As for expenditure, the national debt and the defence services constitute a common obligation, from which neither nation draws particular profit, but the social services, like education, unemployment insurance, public assistance, housing and public health, are most beneficial to distressed areas and also to those which, with small communities and scattered population, offer administrative difficulties. On both points Scotland unfortunately scores—unfortunately, since the Treasury's generosity is conditioned by, and specifically directed to the relief of, abnormal unemployment, poverty and rural depopulation. National finance thus sees to it that depressed towns and rural districts contribute relatively little, but receive much in recognition of the conditions which underlie their incapacity to pay. These points should have been clear to any intelligent critic, but, as we have seen, some ultra-nationalists alleged that Scotland paid more than she got. Ridiculous assertions of this kind were made possible by the absence of reliable statistics, which was due to the complexity of the sorting-out process involved, until, in December 1932, a Treasury White Paper gave the figures for 1931-32. Towards a total revenue of £794 millions Scotland paid £67 millions, or 8.5 per cent., England and Wales the other 91.5 per cent. (It should be remembered that Scotland's population was then 10.8 per cent. of the whole.) Of this total £347 millions went on local purposes, largely social services, and Scotland got £42 millions thereof, or 12.2 per cent., England the remaining 87.8 per cent. This left £447 millions for "imperial" purposes, made up of the revenues not spent locally, and these unspent balances, which represent the two countries' contributions to common objects, were £25 millions, or 5.6 per cent., from Scotland, and £422 millions, or 94.4 per cent., from England. In a word, Scotland, with almost one-

ninth of Britain's population, paid one-twelfth of the total revenue, was refunded to the extent of one-eighth of the money spent at home, and so was able to pay one-eighteenth of the common charge. A simple calculation shows that, on the basis of that year's revenue and expenditure, a fiscally independent Scotland, assessed for joint purposes according to her population, would have been called on to raise an additional sum of over £23 millions, involving an increase of 34·3 per cent. on actual revenue. Where this money was to come from, to say nothing of the financing of further desiderated developments or of possible loss of revenue through dislocation of trade or withdrawal of capital, was, of course, never explained. At no time in Scotland's history has it been less true that the Union is financially prejudicial to Scotland.

Perhaps the most remarkable and successful feature of the Union was the preservation, for all time, of the separate identity of Scots law. Almost equally surprising, in a different way, was the enormous divergence between English and Scottish legal development prior to 1707, since feudalism, the root of Scottish medieval life, had been largely an Anglo-Norman importation, some particular points, like the early code of burghal laws, being borrowed directly from England. The main reason for the differences was the intense, unremitting Anglophobia of the later Middle Ages, which prejudiced almost all Scotsmen against southern institutions and drove them rather to Continental models, for example, in their supreme civil court, the College of Justice, erected in 1532 with forms probably traceable to an Italian source, the University of Pavia. This factor was reinforced by the operation of certain peculiar English and Scottish characteristics. Englishmen, essentially pragmatic, refusing to consider abstract possibilities and solving problems only after they had arisen and then by a compromise dictated by common sense, built up their own native Common Law from precedents and actual cases. The Scots, logical to a fault, great theorists, found much to admire in the

Roman Civil Law, adapted it to their own requirements and constructed an immense code of procedure designed to meet every possible contingency. It is significant of these differences that, as early as 1673, there had been produced in Scotland a work which, in the nature of the case, could find no English parallel—Viscount Stair's *Institutions of the Law of Scotland*, a massive, detailed exposition of the whole legal system which was the forerunner of several similar digests, notably John Erskine's *Institute and Principles*.

In both countries judges and lawyers formed almost a closed corporation, with long and expensive training and slow promotion through well-defined grades, but in England the connection with public life was more intimate, while the Scottish advocates, virtually controlling the judicial machinery, tended to form a narrower ring. In the organization of the courts, in procedure, and even in the spirit of the laws, differences were more striking, and it is in the survival of Scots traditions that we may detect one of the points that give the Union its unique character.

Despite the systematization of the law, the Scottish courts in existence in 1707 present a rather untidy arrangement. For one thing, there were too many "supreme" tribunals. The Parliament was an important court for trying certain crimes, especially high treason, and it was claimed that, in civil cases, appeal lay to it from the Court of Session; though this opinion was unorthodox, it could and did review cases when "protest for remeedy of law" was made, and the whole question of Parliament's appellate jurisdiction was bound to be raised when the Scots Parliament, with all its rights and powers, was merged in that of the United Kingdom. Further, the Privy Council claimed supreme jurisdiction, proceeding especially in a summary manner against enemies of the public peace, but its abolition at the Union was foreseen. The normally supreme civil court was the College of Justice or Court of Session, then composed of President and fourteen Ordinary Lords, and sitting permanently in Edinburgh.

The highest tribunal was the High Court of Justiciary (successor to the old Justiciar), comprising Justice-General, Justice-Clerk, and five Commissioners of Justiciary—all of them also Lords of Session; this court was likewise located in Edinburgh, but it went periodically on circuit to various other towns. Maritime causes fell to the High Court of Admiralty, while the Chamberlain Court carried out, none too efficiently, some of the duties of the English Court of Exchequer. Finally, there was the Commissary Court of Edinburgh, chief of all the commissaries which had inherited the functions of the old episcopal or consistorial courts, and especially important in cases affecting marriage, divorce, legitimacy and testaments.

In the localities, too, there were defects. The chief tribunal was the sheriff-court, exercising civil and criminal jurisdiction except in the really big cases, which would be remitted to Session or Justiciary, to which, also, appeals from the sheriff went. To supplement and relieve the sheriff-court, justices of the peace had been introduced by James VI in 1609; attempts had been made to emulate English efficiency in the work of preserving the peace, but they had achieved little, and the J.P. courts were not important. The many special local courts—the heritage of feudalism—were a real rival to the dispensers of royal justice. Lords of regality had a heritable jurisdiction equal on the criminal side to that of the Justiciary and in civil cases to that of the sheriff; especially dangerous was their power of repledging from the royal courts. Baron-courts were only less potent, being incompetent for treason or any of the four pleas of the Crown (murder, robbery, rape and arson). When feudal estates fell to the Crown by escheat or forfeiture, a stewartry or bailiery would be set up, the former with regality powers, the latter with those of a sheriff—only, of course, within the royal system. Burgh courts still functioned, but with much less power than they had formerly exercised. "Fancy" local courts were the constabularies, around royal castles, and the com-

missariots, reformed remnants of medieval Canon Law.

Three articles of the Treaty of Union made certain the continuance of the bulk of this system. Scots law was safeguarded, especially as regards private right, against arbitrary changes. Session, Justiciary, heritable jurisdictions and the privileges of royal burghs were expressly sanctioned. Parliament, of course, would disappear, and the abolition in 1708 of the Privy Council, though against the strict letter of the agreement, could have inspired very little real regret. The Court of Exchequer was reformed, also in 1708, to make it look rather like the English one, though it never attained to the same position as a law-court. At the same time, new commissions of the peace were issued, in an endeavour to anglicize the J.P. courts. The real problem—appeals to the united Parliament—was evaded in the Treaty with traditional legalistic caution. No appeal would lie to "the Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, or any other Court in Westminster Hall." The House of Lords was thus not expressly excluded, and, technically, it was not necessarily a court in Westminster Hall. We know on Defoe's testimony that the question of appeals was raised and debated by the Commissioners, and it seems clear that they deliberately left open an abstract point which could only arouse present bitterness. And, despite Scots complaints, it was natural that the English should not wish to invalidate a court with Scottish members from the hearing of Scots appeals.

Perhaps it was unfortunate that the first conspicuous occasion on which the problematical right was exercised should be that of a religious cause. Scottish Episcopal meeting-houses were in practice tolerated, especially in and around Edinburgh, but this was not enough for Mr. Greenshields, who deliberately challenged Presbytery's right to silence him. His suspension was upheld by the Court of Session, but, on appeal, was reversed by the House of Lords. Since the Whigs dared not bring the Union into further disrepute, and the Tories favoured Episcopacy, the resultant indignation remained within

limits, but to the supersensitive the Establishment itself seemed to be in danger. To the unprejudiced modern mind the decision appears fair ; it was well that, both in theory and practice, Episcopalians in Scotland should be accorded the liberty enjoyed by English dissenters. And similarly with other decisions in Scots cases—an impartial view indicates that on the whole the appellate jurisdiction has worked beneficially ; as now exercised by the committee of law lords, striving to interpret the law concerned, no reasonable exception can be taken to it. Even the 1904 judgment in favour of the claim of the dissentient minority of the Free Church to the whole endowment of that Church was intelligible, the view being taken that the majority, by uniting with the purely "voluntary" United Presbyterian Church, had renounced their fidelity to the principle of "establishment," which was deemed an essential condition of the many benefactions that had fallen to them. Though on grounds of practicality the affair had to be compromised by Act of Parliament, the decision was a fair and valid vindication of minority-rights, and paved the way to an equitable settlement.

The Scottish law-courts have undergone considerable change and improvement since 1707. By Acts of 1808 and 1830 the Court of Session was organized as an Inner House of two divisions, each of four lords, headed by President and Justice-Clerk respectively, and an Outer House of five lords. In 1830, also, it absorbed the short-lived Jury Court and the Edinburgh Court of Commissaries ; and in the same year the Admiralty Court was dissolved, its work going to the English Admiralty Court, the Court of Session and the sheriffs. In 1856 the Session took over the judicial duties of the Court of Exchequer, which now exists only as one of its offices. Nowadays, too, all Lords of Session act as Commissioners of Justiciary, the President being Justice-General. The High Court of Justiciary sits regularly at Edinburgh, six times a year at Glasgow, four times at Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen, twice if called for at Ayr, Dumfries, Jedburgh, Stirling, Inveraray

and Inverness, and elsewhere for special sessions as required. A single judge suffices for all but the most important cases. The Lords of Session are paid from £3,600 to £5,000 per year. Thus in effect all supreme jurisdiction has become centred in these two courts which, in personnel, are merely different aspects of the same institution.

In the localities, virtually all heritable jurisdictions, which had been losing power and had come into disrepute as a symbol of Scotland's backwardness, were dissolved in 1747, their powers going to the sheriff-courts. Constabularies disappeared long ago, while commissaries were abolished by Acts of 1824, 1830 and 1836, Court of Session and sheriffs sharing the work done by them. The sheriff-courts are now the chief local tribunals with competence for all civil cases except the really big ones and all crimes, save treason, murder and rape. The sheriff-principal, besides having a court of first instance, hears appeals from the sheriffs-substitute; from both, appeals and remits are made to Session or Justiciary. The remaining local courts are concerned with petty cases. Thus the J.P. court, despite endeavours to strengthen its hands, deals at both quarter- and petty-sessions only with such matters as small debts, wage disputes and liquor- and theatre-licences; burgh magistrates try minor crimes, especially police offences; while the Dean of Guild Court has edilic jurisdiction, for example, with regard to house-repairs, sanitation and dangerous buildings. The need for powerful and authoritative sheriff-courts has accordingly become clear. In 1787 the position of sheriff-substitute, hitherto practically permissive, was regularized, salaries being paid by the State; in 1878 they became crown-appointed officials. They must now be advocates or law-agents of five years' standing and are allocated to different districts in the populous shires. The salaries of sheriff and sheriff-substitute run from £700 to £2,000 per year.

The corpus of Scots law has itself changed, often in the direction of conformity with England, to which

comparatively new branches like mercantile and company law owe a great deal. In other ways, proximity to England, understanding of its system of jurisprudence, and growing similarities of experience and outlook have inevitably—and beneficially—influenced the substance and the spirit of Scots law. Scotsmen may pride themselves on their more humane and equalitarian divorce laws, there is much sound sense in their insistence on the purely contractual aspect of marriage and on the safeguarding of widows' and children's interests against arbitrary testamentary arrangements, and their compulsory registration of land-deeds is an obvious convenience; they may even be forgiven a little wayward pride in the "not proven" verdict, in the majority decisions of juries, in the entrusting of all prosecutions to a state official (the Procurator-Fiscal), and in the distinctive titles of President, Lords of Session, Lords Commissioners of Justiciary, Dean of Faculty and Advocates; but few will seriously deny that, in the long run, only good accrues from contact with the wider and richer legal traditions of the south, and the ardent protagonist of the agreement of 1707 will find no better defence for the Treaty than the manner in which Scots law has been both preserved and altered by the union with England.

Scottish local government suffered for long from the lack of any strong tradition comparable to that of England, the arrangements indicating that there had been rather casual grants of *ad hoc* powers, without either correlation or proper supervision. Several different kinds of authorities were established, functioning independently of each other, frequently with overlapping powers, and leaving large gaps in the administrative scheme. At intervals of time, the Crown had set up sheriffships, royal burghs, justices of the peace and commissioners of supply; a baronial origin marks the regalities and baronies, with their dependent, "unfree" burghs; and the Reformed Church had taken a hand in the work through its kirk sessions.

The medieval sheriff-court had served a link

between the capital and rural Scotland, its administrative aspect appearing in the duties of collecting Crown dues, executing royal writs, publishing statutes and, later, making the return of shire-members. By way of reaction against the "over-mighty subject," however, there had been a tendency to limit these functions, with the result that, as the sheriffs gained in the judicial field, they lost in the executive, and, in the post-Union period, their activities have been mainly formal—executing parliamentary writs, registering voters and making election arrangements. The royal burghs were governed according to ancient "setts" or constitutions, whereby power rested with provost, bailies and self-elective town councils. The system was notoriously riddled with abuses, especially fiscal ones, but was authorized by the Union, and the eighteenth century movement for reform failed, simply because the corrupt practices suited governmental convenience. Though their exclusive economic privileges had been rendered valueless by industrial progress long before they were explicitly abrogated (1846), the royal burghs remained, until the late nineteenth century, self-contained units of local administration, often with large revenue resources over which there was virtually no external control until Exchequer supervision was enacted in 1822.

If, as we have seen, the justices of the peace were rather weak on the judicial side, their ministerial position was stronger. Never achieving the prestige of their English brethren, they yet had, particularly in the eighteenth century, a fair amount of work allocated to them—compelling labourers to serve for adequate wages, arbitrating in disputes between master and servant, issuing licences for taverns and theatres and supporting customs-officers and excisemen. Above all, they looked after the highways, taxing the heritors and calling out the tenants to work; in 1718 the commissioners of supply were joined with them in this branch of their functions. Their agents, constables, could, under their directions, suppress riots, hale

vagabonds and suspects before the J.P.s, and generally keep good order ; they are the germ of the county police and, prior to the formation of a regular force in the mid-nineteenth century, did its work in a rough and ready way.

Commissioners of supply were the true forerunners of the much later county councils. First appointed in the seventeenth century to assess the monthly " stent " or land-tax, and drawn from among the well-to-do landowners, they had an organization including convener and clerk, which probably suggested the advisability of entrusting them with further duties. On some points their work cut into that of the J.P.s—for instance, in the regulation of vagabondage and in road-administration ; again, they " planted " schools and " moderated " salaries—which the Church had tried to make its own province. But the commissioners had the last word, because they controlled local money, and for this reason their influence was great down to the late nineteenth century.

In the regalities and baronies, bailies and their deputes had a general power of police, the right of collecting rents and preserving game and fish, and control over similar local affairs. The burghs on these estates were governed by town councils, partly elected, partly nominated, or simply by appointed bailies ; a few of them had achieved the rank of royal burghs before 1707, the others had to wait till the nineteenth century before attaining to local autonomy. The executive functions of baronies tended to fall into desuetude, especially after 1747, and before long they ceased altogether.

As a consequence of the Presbyterian scheme of discipline, kirk sessions handled many matters besides religion. Supervision of morals implied administrative work, and, even if this became rather unfashionable in the eighteenth century, their organization, including elders to superintend behaviour, deacons to look after parish funds and beaules to report, fitted them to act as a governmental unit. Faithful to Knoxian precepts, they attended to the schools, appointing teachers,

regulating salaries and scholars' fees; in the burghs they shared this work with the town councils, but in rural districts they acted alone, or only under the general guidance of the commissioners of supply, whose wider interests would preclude them from special knowledge of each individual parish. The fact that they were actually "on the spot" brought many other jobs to the kirk sessions, especially that of administering the poor law. Here again town councils were responsible in burghs, but in the country kirk sessions were the only possible agencies, and, in the absence of regular machinery, relief tended to become voluntary and uneven. Quarrels and secessions within the Church complicated matters and, by the time of the Disruption (1843), poor law administration was chaotic. Rates of relief varied wildly, sometimes sinking to one shilling per month, and reform was most urgently required.

It is noteworthy that in 1832 the kirk session, alone of local institutions, was in any sense elective and responsible (and even it was becoming narrower); the others all rested on wealth, appointment or privilege. Co-ordination simply did not exist. The whole system, indeed, demanded drastic overhauling, and it was inevitable that the wave of reform, having swept away the grosser of the parliamentary abuses, should be directed to these less spectacular but still valuable aspects of the national life. A start was made with the municipalities. The Reform Act of 1832 had already brought into being parliamentary burghs like Paisley, Greenock and Leith, to reinforce the royal burghs and make the group a stronger one economically. In 1833 burgh reform gave the choice of the council to the burgesses themselves, and subsequent changes broadened the municipal franchise *pari passu* with the parliamentary. A third category of burghs was created by a series of statutes beginning in 1833 and culminating in the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act of 1892, whereby burghs of regality or barony, or simply "populous places," might, through a regularly convened mass meeting, apply for and receive the status of police

burghs. By these means Scottish burghs have increased in number until there are now 194 of them. Meanwhile, municipalities acquired many new powers in the late nineteenth century through the liberalization of public life and the awakening of the social conscience. Each item of social legislation added fresh duties and, incidentally, fresh taxation, until the demand note for the payment of rates became a melancholy reminder that town councils looked after police, lighting, cleansing, public parks, streets, bridges, poor relief, public health, housing, water supply, gas, electricity, lunacy, and several other subjects.

In rural Scotland evolution was slower. A first need was the creation of a regular paid county police force, and this was done by Acts of 1839 and 1857, control going to the commissioners of supply. Poor law reform was taken in hand in 1845, when parochial boards were established, composed of elected members, kirk session delegates, heritors and burgh magistrates (if any). A Board of Supervision of nine members, mostly appointed, controlled all the Scottish parishes. The arrangements were rather arbitrary and not too successful, but they were an improvement. In 1867 parochial boards got fresh duties in connection with public health and the water supply. In 1872 educational reform was instituted. The school board, administering a burgh or rural parish, was based on three new and somewhat revolutionary ideas—popular election of the governing body, compulsory school-attendance, and a local "rate" for educational purposes. The boards did good work during the forty-six years of their existence.

Police, poor law and education had thus been tackled—but each as a separate, specific problem. The first attempt at a correlated plan came in 1889, when a single authority, popularly elected, was set up in each shire. The county council took over the work of the commissioners of supply and the justices of the peace. It got control of police in police burghs with a population of under 7,000, it administered public health (partly a new field, partly taken over from parochial boards),

and it was directed to impose a "consolidated rate" for all county purposes, the details of estimated expenditure to be given in the demand note. One anomaly was left—the county police was placed under a Standing Joint Committee, half nominated by the county council, half by the commissioners of supply, who were retained for this end alone. The county council chose its own chairman (Convener of the County), and it at once became the most important governing body in rural and semi-urban Scotland. Thus all had been democratized with one exception—parochial boards. Their turn came in 1894, when they were displaced by parish councils, elected by the ratepayers and attending to all purely local matters. A link with the county council was furnished by district committees, in charge of groups of adjacent parishes and composed of the county councillors for the district together with one delegate from each parish council. At the same time, the rather unpopular Board of Supervision gave way to the Local Government Board for Scotland, which, under the presidency of the Scottish Secretary, oversaw the work of the parish councils.

The changes between 1894 and 1929 implied merely a tidying up of the established scheme. In 1918 school boards were replaced by education authorities, controlling counties and large towns instead of parishes, and endowed with wide powers, such as the provision of medical attendance and, where necessary, food, the payment of bursaries, school fees and books, and the organization of continuation classes for pupils up to eighteen years of age. In 1919 the Local Government Board became the Scottish Board of Health, and this was reconstituted in 1928 as the Department of Health for Scotland.

At length, the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929, brought every aspect of the subject into one comprehensive, simplified and rationalized scheme. Parish councils, education authorities, district committees, district boards of control (for lunacy) and standing joint committees were swept away, and all the work

was distributed between three types of council—county, district and town—on the general principles that the larger the population governed, the greater the powers of the governing body. For this purpose burghs were graded in three classes, the first comprising the four cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen; the second including the nineteen other “large burghs,” defined as possessing over 20,000 in population by the 1921 Census but extended to take in Arbroath, then within a few hundreds of the quota; the third being “small burghs,” 178 in number. The town councils of the four cities and all the county councils were put on an equal footing, with competence for all branches of local government, including even education (which should be administered through a standing committee). Large burghs were given control of roads, poor relief, public health, housing, town-planning and so forth, within their own areas—that is, all major public services with the exception of education. Small burghs lost their powers to the county council save as regards purely local affairs like street-lighting, cleansing and public buildings. Police administration went to the county councils, or to town councils of large burghs with a police force in existence at the time of the passing of the Act, or with a population of over 50,000. For matters lying beyond their competence, town councils were to be represented *ad hoc* on the county councils, which would thus consist of a fixed number of landward members, directly elected, and a number of town council delegates, varying according to the branch of government under consideration. District councils, composed of members elected by the district ratepayers, and of the county councillors from the district, took over some of the old parish councils’ duties, and acquired the right to levy a district council rate not exceeding one shilling in the pound. The county council got large powers of delegation, to committees of itself (including co-opted members), to district council, to town council, and to joint-committees of the two last.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Treasury grants had been made, in England and Scotland, to assist many branches of local expenditure which were considered to have national significance—for police, education, public health, roads, registration, and so forth. These "grants in aid," transferring part of the burden from local ratepayers to national taxpayers, were brought into one comprehensive scheme in 1929. The total grant for Scotland was to equal all existing grants, together with compensation for the local losses sustained through industrial "de-rating" and a new sum of £750,000. The same plan applied to England, save that here the new sum was £5,000,000, so that again mere proportionate populations were modified, as a basis of reckoning, by consideration for the realities of local administration, and the modification tells in Scotland's favour. For the allocation of the national grants between the counties and large burghs, an elaborate formula was devised out of five factors—total population, infant population, rateable values, abnormal unemployment and low density of population. The scheme was a highly technical but very fair one. The principle of Exchequer relief for local authorities in respect of national services (a principle which points to the ultimate admission of the inadequacy and inequity of the entire rating system) was further, though only partially, applied in the terms of the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1934.

Thus local government and finance were reorganized on modern lines with careful consideration for local needs and insistence on a nicely graded local responsibility. The whole fabric rests ultimately on the same wide and democratic basis as Parliament. The changes that have occurred in the last century amount in the aggregate to a complete revolution, involving the acceptance of a new sense of social duty, the elimination of archaic and redundant institutions, the substitution of popular election for wealth or appointment as a qualification for public office, and the recognition of the principle that authority must be earned before it can be wielded.

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

THE primary reason for Scotland's entry into the Union was not that her religion might thereby be established, nor that the Protestant succession might be assured, nor that she might participate in England's constitutional advance or imperial destiny, but simply that her material circumstances might improve. That great changes did, in fact, occur is self-evident. That these changes were for the better would scarcely have been denied at the end of the eighteenth century, or even at the end of the nineteenth. But the post-War wave of scepticism and a general wariness in endorsing time-honoured "verdicts of history," together with the recrudescence of an aggressive nationalist sentiment, have led some confidently to assert, and many uncritically to believe, that the Union was, in a material as well as a cultural sense, the grand betrayal of Scotland's interests. It will thus be well to attempt an outline of the economic and social position about the year 1707, before considering the changes brought about by the partnership with England.

The population of the country hardly exceeded one million, and of that number the great majority were engaged in the basic industry of mankind, agriculture. Farming methods, still largely feudal, suffered from defects and misconceptions which had been handed down from generation to generation and cherished by each in turn. The large landowners were mostly nobles and many of them let huge holdings to tacksmen of their own name and family. Too often these tacksmen were interested in rents and services, but in agriculture itself not at all. In the Highlands land-tenure was closely linked with military service

and the clansmen were primarily potential soldiers, and only in a secondary sense tillers of the soil. The actual farming was done by tenants and sub-tenants whose occupancy depended on the will of the proprietor or tacksman and might be terminated in any given year. Tenurial insecurity, lessening the farmer's interest in his work and robbing him of any incentive to undertake costly improvements, had already been denounced as an evil, but little had been done to remedy it and leases were very uncommon at the opening of the eighteenth century. Another serious drawback, likewise inherited from feudal times, lay in the services due by the tenant in addition to rent; as well as cultivating his own ground, he had to give work, often one day per week, on the lord's land, and special services were exacted at seed-time and harvest, for road-making, leading of peats, and so forth. Milling, too, was a seignorial monopoly, and tenants living within the "sucken" were "thirled" to the mill, obliged to have grain ground there and bound to pay "multure" for the privilege. Rents were seldom paid wholly in money, much being due in oats, bere (coarse barley), meal, sheep, hens, eggs and cheese.

If the tenurial system was bad, the methods of tillage and pasturage inherited along with it were worse. All arable land was traditionally divided into infield and outfield. In the infield some attempt at manuring was made, often on one-third of the land each year, and the main national crops of oats and bere were forced continuously out of the famished soil; fallow was practically unknown. From the outfield from three to six or even more miserable crops were somehow made to grow among the stones and weeds, and then the ground was given over to coarse grass, thistles and nettles for about an equal number of years; only the unchecked wanderings of cattle provided somewhat adventitious aid to the soil. Cultivation was on the old feudal plan of run-rig holdings, or long, narrow strips separated from each other by raised baulks or by ditches and parcelled out

in such a way that any one tenant's several strips were not contiguous, but scattered over the estate to ensure the equitable distribution of good and bad land alike. Ploughing teams, varying from two horses and two oxen up to eight or ten oxen, and dragging the heavy wooden Scots plough with two, three, or four men in attendance, were generally owned in common by several tenants. In parts of the Highlands and islands the incredibly laborious foot-plough was still in use, as it was to be for many a year. Sickles and wooden harrows complete the picture of the farmer's implements.

Then, as now, Scotland afforded rich natural pasturage for cattle and sheep, but the help given by man was of the slenderest. A "meadow" was any patch of ground too marshy or too stony for cultivation, and many flocks and herds had to be taken to distant hills for summer grazings. In the winter, since the outdoor climate was deemed too rigorous, they were brought under shelter, where their regular food, in the absence of root-crops, consisted of corn-straw and hay from the meadows already cropped or spurned by them. One in five was a common rate of mortality, and survivors were often so emaciated by spring that the ceremony of "lifting" (in a physical sense) was customary. The quality of the stock suffered accordingly and Scottish cattle fell far below current English standards. Most farming was mixed and there were sundry employments subsidiary to tillage and stock-raising, notably fishing in the Highlands and the making of coarse linens and woollens in the Lowlands, where flax-growing, spinning and weaving gave spare-time work to the farmer and more especially his womenfolk.

The primitive and unsuccessful farming of ordinary years, to say nothing of recurring bad harvests and consequent famines, affected adversely the whole national economy and the very appearance of the countryside. In the days before Scottish scenery was admired for itself, the visitor expressed only contempt

and abhorrence for what met his eye—gaunt, rocky hills and treeless moors (the lack of timber was a startling phenomenon), miserable, ill-kempt cornfields and narrow, muddy lanes, the squalid hovels of the peasantry and the austere and uninviting homes of lairds and nobles. Even landowners lived in what seemed an uncouth way to the English traveller. Ill-fitting, draughty doors and windows, bare, plastered walls, smoky peat fires in open hearths, the unhygienic but ubiquitous box-bed—these were common features of the laird's *ménage*. Hospitality was sincere and indiscriminating, as with all primitive societies, but meals—early breakfast, midday dinner and evening supper—were woefully monotonous. Tea at twenty-five or thirty shillings a pound, and wheaten bread were rare and expensive luxuries, turnips, potatoes and onions, costly imports. The common fare consisted of bannocks or oat-cakes, kail or meat-broth, beef, mutton, fish and chickens, plentiful quantities of home-brewed ale and, on the tables of the well-to-do, French claret. The poor condition of the cattle and sheep during winter made fresh meat practically unobtainable, so that from November till May salted beef and mutton formed the staple diet, with fish and chicken as side-dishes.

Wearing apparel was marked by rustic simplicity, for gold-braiding, three-cornered hats and silk gowns only appeared on ceremonial occasions and, both for ladies and men, home-spun woollens, woven and tailored by the women or by travelling workmen, were deemed good enough for ordinary wear. Most lairds kept servants, their wages running from about £1 a year for maid-servants up to £5 for private chaplains, tutors, or governesses. With rents paid in kind, money was scarce and debts and mortgages common—the landowner's lot was proverbially "a pickle land, a mickle debt, a doocot and a lawsuit." His sons were often obliged—since the professions could not absorb all—to take up merchandise, farming, or inn-keeping. Travel was reduced to an unavoidable minimum, for

the roads would generally take only pack-horses, carriages were unknown north of the Forth, carts simply not in use, and inns shockingly filthy and uncomfortable. All these facts reflect the poverty of the landed proprietors: they were indeed wealthy if they had £500 a year and many of them had less than £100.

For the laird's tenants, of course, things were proportionately worse. At best they extracted from the soil a subsistence rather than a living and the allocation of the meagre fruits of their labours is described in another old saying—"ane to saw, ane to gnaw, and ane to pay the laird witha'." The peasant was of necessity something of a vegetarian, simply because his poor holding would hardly support livestock and he could not afford to buy meat even at 2d. per pound; his regular provender was thus oatmeal, kail and fish, ale and milk. His hours of field-labour almost coincided with the hours of daylight, whilst his womenfolk employed their leisure in spinning wool and linen yarn. Poverty and hardship gave him an unprepossessing appearance, ill-nourished, of poor physique and leathery complexion, with ragged clothing, filthy in habits and manners—"the clartier the cosier." Both men and women wore the coarsest woollen plaiding, and shoes were painfully donned on Sundays and holidays. A one-room hovel was the usual dwelling-house, thatched with heather, devoid of glass windows or a chimney to carry away smoke from the open peat-fire and housing, in the winter, cattle at one end and humans at the other. Some tenant-farmers had two rooms, but otherwise were little better-off. Farm-servants' yearly wages varied from 13s. 4d. for women to perhaps 30s. for skilled ploughmen. Lowland farm-holdings were, in general, too small, but Highland crofts were pitifully so; thus the over-populated glens were bound to be nurseries of idleness and poverty. The deplorable conditions favoured the ravages of skin-diseases, as well as of rheumatism and ague. Amusements, at communion, at fairs, weddings,

funerals, or other social gatherings, were compounded of hearty dancing, rude license and serious drinking. Superstitious practices, based on unwavering belief in witches, demons and fairies, attended almost every routine action and marked the low level of the peasants' intelligence.

Turning from country to town, we find analogous defects in economic organization. If agriculture had made almost no progress between the Reformation and the Union, industry and commerce were in little better state; what feudal conservatism had done for the one, the monopolistic burghal system had done for the other. The merchants or guild-brethren of the sixty-six royal burghs for long claimed exclusive trading privileges, and only late in the seventeenth century consented to share them with rivals from "unfree" places like Falkirk, Grangemouth, or Kilmarnock—for a consideration. In actual fact this "communication of trade" worked none too well, unfree contributions to burghal taxes were hard to collect and smuggling was neither effectively suppressed nor popularly condemned. The craftsmen were equally tenacious of their rights and clung to the traditional plan, whereby manufacturing, not really for sale, but to order, was carried out in each locality by the qualified masters, journeymen and apprentices of the appropriate incorporation. Piece-meal organization and strenuous opposition to change rendered industry even less responsive to the needs of the time than was commerce.

The primitive state of Scottish industry is a plain inference from the terms of the Treaty of Union, in which, despite the urge to economic improvement which was a chief motive, the Scots Commissioners could point to pathetically few articles whose sale or export called for State regulation—oats, malt and beer, fish, meat and salt. A sum of money was, indeed, set aside for the encouragement of the woollen industry and there was a vague promise of help for the fisheries as well as other manufactures, but twenty years elapsed before anything was done in either case. The delay

was not wholly due to English malice or indifference ; Scotland's economic life was such that there was very little in the way of saleable surplus to encourage. When a decision was taken, it was to the effect that three industries should be assisted—linen, herring fishing and woollens—and there is no doubt that these three were the main Scottish industries in the early eighteenth century.

The domestic manufacture of linen was of importance to many farms, where the processes of growing the flax, weeding, hand-picking, steeping, "scutching" or separating fibre from stalk, "heckling" or teasing out, spinning and weaving were carried out ; in other cases the flax was imported from abroad to be worked up by Scotswomen in their homes. Bleaching is said to have been an unknown art, and weaving only imperfectly understood. In addition to the home demand, especially for bridal outfits, there was a considerable export trade, but about the time of the Union complaints were frequently made that the old standards were not being adhered to, carelessness was common and the market and prices were suffering thereby. The product, it appears, was usually a poor and coarse fabric, and Dunfermline linens alone were favourably spoken of. The two other industries lagged behind linen. Though Scotland still exported, as she had done for centuries, a small quantity of very coarse woollen cloth, by far the greater part was for domestic use and never came on any market ; Kilmar-nock bonnets, plaids and stockings were the main products, Aberdeenshire and Ayrshire the chief centres of the industry. There had been several attempts at State encouragement of the fisheries, likewise by tradition an exporting branch, and prices of curing-salt were fixed by statute ; but they remained in the main, and especially in the Highlands, an adjunct to farming.

Even less effort was made in other directions. There were a few salt-pans on the Firths of Forth and Clyde, the fish-curiers causing the chief demand, and a few iron and lead mines in the south, whose output

was very small. Surface seams of coal were scratched in a laborious manner, windmills being used for draining water; but with most roads unfit for anything but pack-horses, no industrial demand for the fuel, no money to pay for it, and peat a universal favourite, there was no call for productive collieries. By a curious and anomalous survival of early medieval law, colliers and salters were serfs, "thirled" to the land and their occupation for life. A daily wage of one shilling, or twice as much as that of most other labourers, was poor comfort for the degradation of their work and its awful effect upon their physique.

For the rest, the industrial life of the nation was contained within the economy of the burgh crafts and they, as has been said, operated to fill orders rather than to speculate on profits. The very names and aims of the principal incorporations betray their limited ambitions. Several had nothing but service, skilled or manual, to offer—wrights and masons, gardeners, and barbers and surgeons. Another group, comprising the most highly thought-of "trades," might have been surplus manufacturers but, in accordance with their traditions, worked merely to satisfy the demands of local customers—goldsmiths, tailors, bonnetmakers and cordiners or shoemakers. The only craftsmen who were industrial workers in the modern sense were those concerned with woollens—websters or weavers, fullers, and litsters or dyers—and it is symptomatic of Scotland's backward state that these were all along despised as the lowest and meanest of all. The last group includes the purveyors of food and drink—baxters or bakers, fleshers and the lordly maltmen, who supplied the brewster-wives. The system was simply not designed with a view to industrial expansion, but rather to check and control prices and quality and to discourage speculation and inventiveness.

With poor backing from native industries, Scottish commerce was necessarily far from prosperous. It had benefited little from the Union of the Crowns, the

Navigation Acts shut it out from the fertile field of colonial trade, and its great adventure, the Darien Company, had come by unparalleled disaster. Civil and religious disturbances had been a serious deterrent throughout the seventeenth century and official returns from the royal burghs all tell a tale of reduced shipping, decaying trade, burdensome debts and lapsed prosperity. While something must be allowed for exaggeration in these jeremiads (since town councils wished to make out a good case for the easing of their taxes and the suppression of their rivals), it is evident that many old-established seaport-towns, particularly in Fife and along the east coast, had in fact fallen on evil days, without any compensating gain accruing to the big ports like Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen, or Glasgow. Scotland could hardly boast of 100 ships, and ship-building was almost unknown, except at Leith, for the scarcity of native timber obliged shipowners to buy their vessels abroad. The thin stream of Scots commerce followed the traditional trade routes, to northern Ireland and England, to Danzig, Königsberg, and the Baltic and Scandinavian ports, to the Low Countries, and to France. Timber, flax, wine, spices, fine fabrics, manufactured goods and luxury articles were imported in return for Scottish cattle, hides, grain, fish, and coarse woollen and linen cloth.

Agriculture, ill-organized as it was, formed the nation's chief economic interest and accordingly we find the towns poor, small and undignified. Edinburgh, the capital and the meeting-place for law-courts and General Assembly, the city where country gentlemen had their town-houses, was the unrivalled national metropolis. Scotland's finest urban architecture was concentrated there—the tall, galleried and gabled houses, partly French and Flemish in origin, partly native, which were such a pleasing feature of old-time Scotland. Disinclination to build outside the imperfect, sixteenth-century city walls had determined the vertical direction of Edinburgh's expansion, in the same way as, much later, the confined space of Manhattan

Island produced the New York skyscraper. Forty-thousand inhabitants were thus crowded into the ten-, twelve-, or fifteen-floored houses of the "royal mile"—the High Street and Canongate—the neighbouring Lawnmarket and Cowgate, and the adjoining closes, wynds, and vennels. The life and habits of the citizens have often been described—the strange mixture of classes in the flats, with cobblers and poor clerks in cellars and attics, lawyers, merchants, ministers, judges and noblemen, on the intervening storeys; the busy, friendly thronging of all types of people in the narrow, uneven, dirty streets; the great importance of the many taverns for social or business meetings, since few private houses were roomy enough for them, and beds had to be fitted into every available corner; the early start of the daily round, the hearty eight o'clock breakfasts of porridge, collops (minced meat), mutton and ale, the eleven o'clock pause for nips of ale or brandy before the midday dinner, which was not very different from breakfast; the ladies' afternoon entertainments, with ale or claret, in drawing-room or bedroom; the evening supper and the ten o'clock curfew, to the accompaniment of the time-honoured call of "Gardylloo" as the day's refuse was emptied from the windows, to be partially cleared up next morning by the not too diligent scavengers.

Other towns lagged far behind the capital. Glasgow, with 12,500 inhabitants, came second. Herring and salmon were caught in the Firth of Clyde, to be dried and exported, along with Glasgow "plaidings" and linen cloth. About one-sixth of the country's shipping belonged to the town, although, on account of the shallowness of the river, vessels engaged in foreign trade could come no nearer than Port Glasgow or Dumbarton, whence goods must be sent on by pack-horse or river-boat. In contrast to Edinburgh, the simple rustic beauty of Glasgow drew favourable comment from travellers, though the handsome edifices of the well-to-do rubbed shoulders with dirty hovels and mean shops and the fresh country air was sadly

polluted with odours of street garbage. Life was not dissimilar to that of Edinburgh, save that, in the absence of fashionable society, merchants and shopkeepers formed the upper class and, true to the Covenanted tradition, the townsfolk were a soberer, more austere lot, buying and selling, conversing and drinking with a uniform air of religious unction. Next after Glasgow came Dundee, Aberdeen and Perth, their combined populations about equalling that of the western city and each of them boasting only a few stone houses and many wooden huts. Some of the towns in the west, Paisley, Greenock, Kilmarnock and Ayr, had populations around the two-thousand mark, with spinning and weaving as the chief interests. In the east there were Dunfermline, the linen centre, and Stirling, Crieff and Inverness, different gateways to the Highlands, with horse-, cattle-, and sheep-fairs of local importance. Over the rest of the country were to be found only poor, squalid villages, though many of them found consolation for their all too obvious lack of prosperity in their possession of charter-rights of four or five centuries' standing. In every aspect of social and economic life, indeed, Scotland required and awaited the operation of some powerful progressive impulse.

That impulse was supplied, in the long run, by the Union, although the first effects were such as to breed dissatisfaction, resentment and open antagonism. Apart from the transient difficulties and misunderstandings of the summer of 1707, the institution of a better and keener, if also more officious, customs and excise system threatened the national pastime of smuggling, and called forth much latent ingenuity for the business of landing and disposing of contraband cargoes of brandy, wine, tea and silks. More disastrously, the relatively high salt-duty practically killed the fishing industry, and in the middle of the century swarms of Dutch boats hovered off the Scottish coasts, while the natives could not afford to equip fishing-boats. Woollen manufactures suffered sadly from free trade with

England, for the home products could not compete with the finer stuffs woven in England from superior wool. In three respects, however, agriculture, linen manufactures and foreign commerce, the Union opened up new avenues of prosperity and the improvement of these branches before long proved ample compensation for what had been lost elsewhere.

Changes in the aims and methods of farming were slow and uneven, but they amounted, cumulatively, to nothing less than an agrarian revolution, the effects of which could be appreciated by the end of the century. The actual changes were similar to those which occurred in England, with this difference that, feudalism having a tighter hold on Scotland, there were both more to be done and a greater resistance to reform. This explains the slow pace and the irregularity of the changes. The chief advocates of reform were noblemen and lairds, like the Duke of Atholl, the Earls of Haddington, Stair, Loudon and Eglinton, Lord Findlater, Lord Kames, Cockburn of Ormiston, several of the Gordons, and Grant of Monymusk; their familiarity with the English farmers' better technique led them to take a keen interest in Scottish agriculture and to make what was destined to be their last important collective contribution to the national life. They came together in 1723 to form the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland, important not only for its leadership and advice in all farming matters, but also as the forerunner and foster-father of the many local agricultural societies.

Enterprising landlords busied themselves with the enclosing of lands (especially of wastes for pasturage), the popularizing of the new crops, turnips, potatoes and artificial grasses, the introduction of horse-hoeing and drilling, the granting of long leases, the planting of millions of trees, the draining of marshes and bogs, and the utilization of the winnowing and threshing machines invented by the Meikles, father and son. Sometimes the changes were deeply resented, particularly when they involved cherished rights of "commons,"

as when, in 1724, the Galloway peasants rose against enclosures and "levelled the dykes." Again, tenants destroyed young trees in the belief that they impoverished the soil, stole the sunshine and harboured destructive birds. Often a curiously strong attachment to the archaic run-rig system was encountered, so that the proprietors' home-farms might be oases of "improvement" set in a desert of old-fashioned wastefulness and sloth. In the fight for better farming, however, the landlords had a powerful ally in the English market, now open to Scotsmen and ready to absorb as many cattle as they could offer. Immediately after the Union tenant-farmers found they simply must grow turnips for winter-feed if their beasts were not to be the subject of English ridicule and scorn. Turnips, which required hoeing and were a beneficial addition to crop-rotation, were the thin end of the wedge and led directly to scientific farming. Clover and grasses were cultivated for similar reasons, the soil improved greatly from manuring, fallowing and root-crops, and it was found that wheat *would* grow in Scotland. The new grain became popular as the increasing population demanded wheaten bread. From about 1750, too, sheep-rearing came into greater favour, first in the south, then, late in the century, in the Highlands, where sheep began to be preferred to the traditional black cattle; the introduction of Cheviots, Blackface and other strains, and their successful acclimatization had much to do with it, as had domestic demands for wool.

The uneven geographical distribution of the agrarian reforms is noteworthy. The main mechanical improvements—a light iron plough, various iron harrows, carts and threshing machines—were in common use in the Lowlands before the end of the century, but they had not superseded the older methods in the Highlands. So, too, with the leasing of land, which was facilitated by the Entail Act of 1770; nineteen years was the usual term in the southern counties by 1800, but Highland tacksmen, though they themselves had leases,

did not often grant them to farmers, who remained mostly tenants-at-will. Thus we find the farmers of Berwickshire and the Lothians, who had eagerly adopted improvements and specialized in grain-growing, the most successful in Scotland; Ayrshire, already famed for its dairy-produce, and Galloway were making progress, but much had still to be done, whilst Lanarkshire was slow to change. On the east coast Angus was forging ahead and its black cattle were in demand, but in Fife, Perthshire, Kincardine and Aberdeenshire, farmers were just beginning to follow their landlords' example. Further north there were improved patches along the coastal strip, but few changes had occurred in the interior, where the tacksmen were a barrier to progress. The century closed with the agrarian revolution perhaps rather more than one-half accomplished. It is estimated that almost one-third of the people were still engaged in agriculture.

Not long after the Union it became evident that, while some traditional industries were ill-adapted to the requirements of a new, large and open market, for one at least the colonial trade offered fine opportunities for expansion. The Board of Trustees, set up after long delays in 1727 to distribute part of the funds allocated to Scots industry at the Union, did for linen manufactures what the Society of Improvers did for agriculture. They supervised and stamped cloth, imported skilled artisans from abroad, awarded premiums for flax-growing and for bleaching-fields and prizes for new inventions and new processes, set up spinning-schools, and gave advice on all aspects of the industry. In the 'forties production had increased sufficiently to warrant the grant of a State bounty on exports and the establishment of the British Linen Company, at first concerned with the financing of the growing industry, but destined to become the pioneer of branch-banking in Scotland and, indeed, in Britain—for the older Bank of Scotland and Royal Bank, as well as private banking firms, were then largely Edinburgh affairs. From 1752 to 1784 the Commissioners

of the Annexed Estates fostered linen manufacturing in the Highlands, but there it never rivalled the progress achieved in the Lowland counties, among which Angus was easily first, with Fife second, and Perthshire, Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire also important. The Angus weavers concentrated on coarse cloth, while fine fabrics like lawn and cambric were produced in the west country, where Christian Shaw's "Bargarran thread" marks the beginning of Paisley's fame as a centre for quality textiles.

The rapid and steady progress of the industry may be seen from the facts that, when the Board of Trustees started operations, the annual output was two million yards, and by the end of the century it was twenty-four millions. More flax was now imported than was grown at home and, in any case, linen manufacture could no longer be conducted as a side-line in agriculture. Not that machinery, the characteristic of the industrial revolution, played a big part during the eighteenth century. True, water-driven lint-mills carried out the preparatory processes of scutching and heckling, and the final steps of bleaching and dyeing likewise came to be specialized and mechanised. But spinning was done by hand until near the end of the century, when a very few mills began to produce coarse yarns; all weaving continued on hand-loom. The important point is that, though spinners and weavers owned their instruments and worked them in their cottages, the scale of the business demanded capital, so that all over the country, at Glasgow, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Perth, Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen and elsewhere, "manufacturers" imported flax or bought it at home, distributed it to housewives for spinning and collected and paid for the yarn; the same or other "manufacturers" often gave out yarn to be woven on hand-loom by wage-earning weavers, although, especially for fine work, independent craftsmen were to be found in town and village, buying their own materials and selling cloth to local customers.

Meanwhile the woollen industry, obliged by English

competition to rely on the most local sort of demand, made only a slow and partial recovery and could not seriously challenge the supremacy of the cheaper grades of linen. During the last quarter of the century things began to look up. Efforts were made to nurse the industry in the Highlands, and at Galashiels, in response to brisker demand and better prices, production went up 600 per cent. Before 1800, however, linen had been ousted from premier place among textiles by a younger rival, cotton. Some linen workers had already used cotton threads as weft, but the great impetus came from the release of commercial capital through the virtual cessation of the tobacco trade in 1776, and its application to the purchase of raw cotton abroad and its manufacture in Scotland. Its late start meant that cotton, unlike linen, grew up in the era of mechanical inventions, so that spinning was all along a factory industry based on the discoveries of Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton. Wealthy merchants with overseas connections financed many factories, and cotton's rise to first place was phenomenally rapid, helped as it was by the fact that workers in fine linen could easily change over to the new material—or even, as some did for a time, to silks. From 1785 onwards cotton forged ahead, its centre being Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, where it practically ousted linen, and its best-known products, Glasgow and Paisley muslins. Mills of all sizes, driven by water-power, were at work, and 180,000 people are said to have been employed in the various branches of the industry. Intensive spinning meant plenty of work, good wages and prosperity for the skilled hand-loom weavers, who again worked for “manufacturers” and helped in the building up of a large export trade.

The eighteenth century was thus emphatically the age of textiles. Not much was done to exploit the country's great mineral wealth until late in the period. While charcoal was still used for smelting, several attempts, none of them very successful and most of them short-lived, were made to utilize Highland timber

for furnaces located in the glens. No substantial progress could be achieved until, in England, the technique of smelting with coke had been perfected. Therefore the opening, in 1759, of the Carron Iron Works, in close proximity to water-power as well as to the coal and iron fields, marks the true beginning of Scotland's mineral industries. Slowly a sound reputation was acquired and after twenty years, guns, farming tools and domestic utensils were being cast both for export and the home market. From the later 'eighties, following further inventions, mainly by Watt and Cort, which speeded up all processes of foundry and forge, works began to appear all over the central Lowlands—by 1800 there were some twenty blast-furnaces in operation. Their annual output was valued at just over £100,000, a figure which should be compared to over £1,000,000 for linen cloth and £1,250,000 for cotton yarn alone—finished cotton goods must have approached £3,000,000. An idea of the unimportance of iron in relation to agriculture is gained from the fact that the sale of cattle from the Highlands alone brought in more than £200,000 annually.

The industrial developments of the late eighteenth century called for more and more coal, not only as a source of power, but also for the domestic use of the people, whose numbers were growing and whose standards of comfort were rising. Hindrances to improvements in the collieries disappeared with the successful adaptation, at the very end of the century, of the steam-engine for pumping water and raising coal. Before that, however, much had been done to modify another great difficulty, that of transportation. The old muddy tracks were quite unsuited to the new age, and Wade's roads, while they had opened up the Highlands in a military sense, had not touched the problem of Scotland as a whole. During the second half of the century turnpike trusts were constructing roads and bridges everywhere, and mail-coaches connected Edinburgh with Glasgow and other towns, and eventually London with both the chief cities. The

opening to traffic, in 1790, of the Forth and Clyde and the Monkland Canals promised speedier inter-communication; wooden wagon-ways in the coalfields foreshadowed a yet more spectacular development. Thus during the 'nineties the coal trade was expanding, and both exports and home consumption increasing rapidly, though as yet only those fields which were readily accessible to water-transport—in Ayrshire, near Glasgow and in Fife—had been tapped; the great changes were to come after 1800.

Minerals were a poor second to textiles, and other industries were still further behind. And yet a beginning had been made in some minor trades, like glass-making, potteries, printing and book-binding, leather and shoe-making, slate and granite quarrying. With their products gaining rather than losing in popular favour, brewing and distilling were more important and supplied many more people with full-time occupations than formerly.

Strictly comparable to the agricultural and industrial advance was the expansion in overseas commerce. The Navigation Acts, which before the Union had severely hampered Scottish trade, were now most beneficial, since Scottish vessels could carry national products to the Plantations and bring back the raw materials in demand in Europe. Glasgow, now on the right side of the map, was the commercial centre, and her shipping rose from 15 vessels at the time of the Union to nearly 400 by the American War of Independence. By far the biggest item in the colonial trade was tobacco, with annual imports of close on £1,400,000, of which £1,350,000 worth was re-exported, mainly to France. In this commodity Glasgow for a time outpaced Bristol, the pre-Union *entrepôt* of the trade, and her "tobacco lords" were among the wealthiest and most arrogant of British merchants. Sugar and rum also figured among imports, and the chief export, apart from re-exported tobacco, was coarse linen cloth, which was popular in the colonies, and accounted for £450,000 out of an annual total of

£500,000. The needs of sea-borne commerce rendered advisable the deepening of the Clyde and from 1759 onwards this was being periodically carried out.

This trade boom was conditioned by the mercantile system of "the first empire," involving colonial dependence on the mother-country. It suffered a terrible blow from the American War, and Glasgow's tobacco trade virtually disappeared, while a good market for Scots linen was also lost. The disastrous effects were mitigated in different ways. The wealthy merchants were able to devote much of their capital to the encouragement of home industries, and the concurrent and consequent expansion of these industries in turn provided fresh exports to be carried in Scottish ships. Moreover, the Atlantic trade was diverted from Virginian tobacco to West Indies sugar and Carolinian cotton, and these commodities, along with home-produced linens, cotton cloth and coal, supplied a new basis for sea-going traffic. Recovery was aided by the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, whose existence commenced in 1783, within twenty years Clyde shipping was back to the pre-War level and the closing decade of the century saw it forge ahead until that figure was exceeded. In other towns changes were naturally neither so striking nor so significant for the whole national economy, and yet in 1800 Scotland had over two thousand ships—more than a twentyfold increase since the Union.

All this economic activity led to radical alterations in social conditions, and there can be little doubt that the people of 1800 were in almost every respect happier and better-off than those of 1700. Their numbers had increased from about a million to 1,600,000, but their wealth had risen out of all proportion to this increase. The nation now paid over forty times as much excise revenue as in 1707 and, though this is no true measure of the actual increase of wealth (since the excise systems at these two dates varied widely in scope, efficiency and yield), it follows that the national resources had been multiplied many times over. Most of the new money

came from industry and commerce—that is, it was largely town and city money ; for, though farms now yielded much more profit, their advance was relatively much less than that of urban business, since the latter started from next to nothing. The population-growth was likewise almost exclusively an urban affair, Edinburgh had doubled, Glasgow had grown sixfold, and these two cities were now almost equal in size, with about 80,000 inhabitants apiece. For third place Paisley led Dundee and Aberdeen, all three being near the 30,000 mark. In the absence of a Census before 1801, we cannot be sure of what was happening in the country districts, but it seems reasonable to assume some degree of rural depopulation. The agricultural improvements were aimed at the elimination of a system chiefly remarkable for its wastefulness of man-power ; labour-saving devices, scientific manuring and sheep farming, all meant fewer hands. We know, too, that there was much emigration from the over-populated Highlands during the second half of the eighteenth century ; thousands and thousands left for one of three destinations—the industrial Lowlands, the Highland regiments or the American colonies. Further, the continuation of the same or similar economic causes after 1800 resulted in positive decreases in seven of the mainly rural counties, despite the rapid increase in Scotland as a whole. Everything points to the conclusion that between 1707 and 1800 the natural increase among country people was more than counteracted by the removal of masses of them to the towns or elsewhere. Hence the basic facts are these—the number of town-dwellers had more than doubled, fewer people found a living in the country, and the wealth of both sections, but more especially of townsfolk, was many times greater than before.

Several public events had important consequences for the material well-being of the nation. The defeat of the clans at Culloden and the abolition of heritable jurisdictions involved the decay of Highland feudalism and the metamorphosis of the chiefs into landlords,

controlling estates instead of warriors ; the substitution of an economic for a military basis of life meant a new epoch for the glens, which could house sheep more readily than hordes of not too industrious clansmen. The freeing in 1775 of the serfs attached to collieries and salt-mines did away with the barbaric degradation of the lowest grade of workers. The triumph of the Moderate party in the Church helped to soften the excessive rigours of ecclesiastical discipline, to modify Sabbatarian habits and to make possible a saner and healthier, because less ashamed or furtive, enjoyment of the pleasures of life. In a humbler way, and yet in a matter affecting the daily life of the entire people, the imposition of a malt tax in 1725 raised the cost of ale and encouraged the adoption of other drinks. The Bank Act of 1765 checked the tendency towards irresponsible and speculative banking, with its " optional clause " regarding payments and its notes of absurdly small denominations, and gave something like sound finance to industry and to the people at large.

The more momentous results, however, flowed from silent, unheralded innovations rather than from legislation, war, or politics. Scientific farming provided people in town and country with better and more varied food than their ancestors had enjoyed. Wheaten bread, no longer in the luxury class, was available along with oat-cakes, porridge and pease-meal ; turnips, potatoes, carrots and onions appeared beside kail and cabbage. Winter-feed meant fresh meat throughout the year, and even ploughmen sometimes had it twice or thrice a week. Table-pewter began to give way to china and glass. In fashionable circles the dinner-hour advanced to late afternoon, having half-accomplished its metamorphosis into an evening meal ; but with the majority the midday dinner was retained, as it still is. The serving of two or more courses became customary among the well-to-do. In the 'twenties tea-drinking was taken up, in place of the afternoon claret, by ladies of position and leisure. From them it spread slowly to others and became very popular with all who could

afford it. The demand was so brisk and the duty so high that smuggling was common and much more tea escaped the customs than ever paid. The illicit traffic prejudiced the normal trade of the small seaports and aided in the concentration of commerce in towns like Glasgow, Greenock, Leith, Dundee and Aberdeen.

Increased wealth brought increased drinking, partly through the substitution for claret of the heavier port, still more through the adoption by Lowlanders of the formerly little-known Highland "drug," whisky, the consumption of which rose phenomenally; ale lost ground with the advance of tea. Glasgow merchants did a busy trade in lemons and oranges, necessary ingredients for all manner of punches and toddies. Most of the whisky-stills—and there were hundreds of them—were unlicensed, as were many of the public-houses, which dispensed "twopenny" ale and whisky at from 10d. to 1s. 8d. per quart. Scotland, once notorious for its lack of inns, now had them everywhere—dozens in every county town and often as many as one to fifty or sixty people. With no effective supervision, quantitative or qualitative, of the people's drinks and only the ministers mildly deprecating excess, intemperance and intoxication spread to all ranks of society. Observers claimed that during the 'nineties a better tone characterized the gentlemen's potations, but it is useless to deny that, on the whole, boorish immoderation remained a gross national fault.

The success of domestic textiles brought improvements in the people's dress. Home-spun woollens did not disappear, being retained as working clothes, but women in particular favoured more luxurious articles—English broad-cloth, linens, muslins and silks. The new cotton goods came into common use at the close of the century and were deemed suitable for many purposes, from women's stockings to gentlemen's waistcoats. Plaids were discarded about mid-century, to make way for fashions from Edinburgh and London, or homelier versions of them. Many men in all walks of life preferred linen to woollen shirts and ploughmen

wore corduroy breeches instead of loose woollen trousers.

Rural conditions did not change very materially before 1750, but thereafter the greater productivity of the soil had its effect. During the next half-century rentals often increased ten-fold, while horses, cattle and sheep were trebled or quadrupled in value and even wages, the last item to react to prosperity, were doubled, the basic rate for day-labour rising from 6d. to 1s., and ploughmen's yearly wages (in addition to their lodging and "gains") from £3 to £7. Lairds became interested in shooting rather than hawking, but above all in trees, crops and their "policies." If their pseudo-classical houses are an indictment of the architecture of the age and show a sad falling-off from the simple artistry of the old baronial towers, their greater comfort cannot be denied. The more fortunate peasants benefited from the use of slate, stone, glazed windows, beds, and the separate housing of cattle.

The agrarian changes in the Highlands were a mixed blessing, for the chieftains' discovery of the greater returns from sheep-farming than from crofters' holdings accelerated the exodus and started the long tale of heartless burnings and evictions. Perhaps it was a national misfortune that thousands of Highlanders were obliged to find new homes in America, but it should be remembered that the change to sheep-rearing was but one cause of emigration, which indeed started long before the agrarian reforms. During the 'twenties many clansmen, in the hopes of bettering their lot, had joined in Oglethorpe's experimental colonization of Georgia, after the 'Forty-five many more, for political rather than economic reasons, went to the Carolinas, and after the Seven Years' War still more of them, having served in the army, accepted the Government's offer of settlements, mostly in New York province, by way of pension. A considerable drift to the Lowlands went on all the time, starvation, unemployment and the exactions of tacksmen forcing thousands to leave their homes, *before* the sheep arrived. The truth is that the

glens would not and never could support in decency a large and peaceable population ; denied their traditional outlets of blackmail, rapine and war, the actual inhabitants were ludicrously in excess of what the country could maintain, especially when, as was often the case, they were likewise slothful and ignorant. Whilst the graziers' ambitious speculations intensified and needlessly embittered the process, wholesale emigration was inevitable from the start, and those whom necessity drove across the sea were, in the long run, by no means the least fortunate of Scotland's children.

A more urbane culture developed, especially in the two principal cities, which vied with each other as centres of pleasant living ; their rivalry dates from the later years of the century. The old civic boundaries no longer sufficed. The completion of the North Bridge in 1772 and the rapid building of the " New Town " led to an exodus from the incommodious wynds and closes of the capital to the spacious squares and pretentious mansions across the Nor' Loch, while many Glaswegians crossed the river to make the ancient barony of Gorbals their own or initiated the westward expansion which was eventually to urbanize quondam rural tracts, like Cowcaddens or Byres Road. In the friendly rivalry Edinburgh had the advantage in historic background and metropolitan tradition, and, if genuine cultural leadership be the criterion, it was never more truly the national capital than during the century after it had ceased to be the seat of parliament. In sheer wealth and rapid material progress Glasgow came off better, but it would be unfair to think of it as wholly immersed in commerce. Both cities, late in the century, had their theatres and literary clubs, dancing assemblies and fashion-parades, specialized shops and great stone mansions ; their universities compared favourably with any in Europe, and Glasgow could point to at least one authentic artistic achievement in the productions of the Foulis printing press. With the advent of better and quicker inter-communication, in which Scottish-built coaches were prominent,

the stigma of rustic isolation was removed from towns affected by the industrial boom of the 'nineties, Paisley, Greenock and Govan in the west, Leith, Dunfermline, Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen in the east. No longer straggling villages of wooden hovels and mud huts, they had private residences, municipal buildings, shops and warehouses constructed solidly if none too beautifully out of stone, Aberdeen being particularly fortunate in the local supply of granite. The higher standards of living are reflected in the establishment of bakers' and butchers' shops in towns and even villages. In most respects, indeed, the Scotland of 1800, unlike that of 1707, was abreast of contemporary progress.

The outstanding developments of the nineteenth century were, of course, part and parcel of the economic advance achieved by Great Britain, which made that country indisputably the premier manufacturing and commercial state of the world. It is well known that Britain's foreign and colonial diplomacy, as well as her domestic policy, was inspired by the determination to foster her trade and industries, through the negotiation of trade treaties, the maintenance of open sea-routes and of accessible markets, the abandoning or reduction of restrictive duties and the advocacy of free trade principles. In these respects English and Scottish interests were virtually identical, and Scotland benefited as much as any other part of the United Kingdom from the political and fiscal arrangements of the time. This is seen in the fact that the average Glasgow vessel at the end of the century was of 1,000 tons, compared to 100 tons at the beginning; besides Glasgow, which was one of the seven or eight great British seaports, Greenock, Leith, Grangemouth, Dundee and Aberdeen carried on the bulk of the country's commerce. Another vital requirement for material progress was sound banking, and this came with the gradual amalgamation of the smaller local and private banks around the nuclei provided by the three older chartered banks, along with the Commercial, founded in 1810, the

National, formed in 1825, and a few others. The Scottish banks, with their deposits and cash-credits, were all along a boon to industrialists, merchants, farmers and fishermen. They stood up well to the crisis of 1825 and resented and successfully opposed the motion to discontinue the issuance of notes of under £5—a measure perhaps required for England, but certainly not for Scotland. They were further strengthened by the Bank Charter Act of 1845, which ensured adequate cover in specie for bank-notes, and thereafter there were only two major failures, those of the Western Bank in 1857 and of the City of Glasgow in 1878. Continuously, meanwhile, the greater banks were absorbing the lesser, until, in 1883, all business was concentrated in the hands of ten really national institutions (later consolidated into eight), stable, conservative, and maintaining ever-closer relations with the English banks. Encouragement and the provision of sound banking facilities laid the foundation for industrial progress, which was, in part, the sequel to eighteenth-century changes, in part an entirely new development, with Scotland sometimes proving herself nothing less than a world-pioneer.

Agriculture moved steadily ahead. The Napoleonic Wars obliged British farmers to raise big crops and brought prosperity to rural Scotland. Farming became more and more of a scientific calling, divorced from its old allies, spinning and weaving, attractive to new capital and conducted by wage-earning labour. Not only were the old "improvements"—long leases, enclosures, root-crops, efficient implements and the abolition of run-rig, infield and outfield—applied to backward areas which had failed to adopt them, but new ones also appeared, like lime-fertilising, drainage, hedges and dykes, the reaper and steam-powered machinery. War-time prices supplied both the incentive and the wherewithal for many changes.

Scotland's fame for stock-breeding was established. Beef from Aberdeen, Angus and Fife was sought after, especially when steamships made it possible for prime

cattle, fattened at home, to reach the great markets of Edinburgh, Glasgow and London in excellent condition. Sheep-rearing, driven out by improvements from low-lying arable land, prospered in the southern hills and the Highlands, for the weavers of the Border towns and Yorkshire required more and more wool and the better-paid factory workers were able to buy mutton. The impact of the post-War depression on grain-prices was softened, in theory at least, by the Corn Laws, but after 1846 the farmers, left to work out their own salvation, found that their calling demanded ever more skill and application. The measure of effective "improvement" was the abolition of the old ridiculously small holdings. In the best districts, the Lothians, Berwickshire, the Howe of Fife, the Carse of Gowrie and the Mearns, the average arable farm ran from 200 to 300 acres of highly productive land. In the south-west surviving farms, often under 100 acres were, on the whole, less successful, though the Ayrshire dairy-farms were prosperous. In Galloway, Dumfriesshire, the Border counties and the Highlands sheep-farms extended to 500 or 1,000 acres or even more, but there remained thousands of arable holdings well under 100 acres; in these areas conversion to pasture and the gradual elimination of the smaller units meant eviction and rural depopulation.

By 1860 the agrarian revolution was complete in most districts. Just over one-sixth of the country's area was cultivated and less than one-twentieth under permanent grass. Among grain-crops oats accounted for by far the largest acreage (over one million), with barley (over 200,000) and wheat (100,000) far behind; 140,000 acres were under potatoes. Though wheat-growing was at its best in the best farming counties—Fife, Perth, East Lothian, Angus and Midlothian, in that order—the output was pitifully inadequate for the nation's needs. There were, however, six million sheep and almost one million cattle, so that, in a population of three millions, these branches might still be called first-class industries; although, with

350,000 farm-workers, or less than one in eight of the population, Scotland was no longer primarily an agricultural country.

During the half-century preceding the Great War, as wheat from the United States, Canada and Russia, Argentinian beef, New Zealand mutton, Danish butter and Australian wool were freely imported into Britain, Scottish farmers found markets harder and prices lower. The population rose by 50 per cent., but the farming area remained much the same; there was a slight decrease in oats, but a heavy decline in wheat—to about 50,000 acres—all counties sharing in it. The area under permanent grass rose steadily, as did the number of livestock, though in no case did the increase keep pace with the growth of the population. By 1911, when there were over two million workers of all kinds in the country, only 200,000 of them were engaged in farming—well under one-twentieth of the population, compared to one-third in 1800.

Highland difficulties persisted in an aggravated form, sheep-farming giving place to a more spectacular evil, deer-forests and grouse-moors. Eventually over three and a third million acres were laid aside for these arid and unsocial purposes. The new enclosure movement met with much opposition, and in the 'eighties the "Crofters' War," involving riots, burnings, defiance of police, and destruction of deer and game-birds, spread through the northern counties. A royal commission found that holdings were small and uneconomic because of the recent clearances, of over-crowding on the remaining farms, of high rents and insecurity of tenure. It was, however, made clear that the crofters had never been industrious or prosperous as a class and that over-population and under-production had always entailed dependence on imported food. The Crofters' Holdings Act of 1886, various commissions of later years, and the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act of 1911 (this last empowering the Board of Agriculture to erect new holdings and enlarge old ones) aimed in turn at relieving Highland and Scottish agrarian distress.

The truth about the clearances has been obscured by the brazen egoism of unsympathetic landlords, the ruthless cruelty of the evictions and the pathetic plight of the sufferers, so that the process is depicted as a heartless conspiracy to depopulate lands capable of supporting large numbers of contented and prosperous husbandmen or shepherds; on the other side is quoted the finding of a royal commission, to the effect that a million and a half acres of deer forests were suitable for land-settlement. Behind all the indefensible barbarity of the landlords, however, lay the fact that world-trade and world-markets, while restricting the possibilities of Scottish farming in general, were slowly rendering Highland agriculture an anachronism or at best an expensive luxury; the enclosures, executed before private brigandage had been subjected to State control, quickened the pace and multiplied the hardships of a change which was almost bound to happen.

Alongside a relative decline in agriculture, Scotland's phenomenal industrial advance of the nineteenth century depended on textiles until their dispersal or localization about 1861, and thereafter on the so-called "heavy" industries, which expanded steadily until the War. For textiles the main development was the application of steam-power to all processes. Already before 1800 cotton-spinning was a machine industry, but in flax only the preparatory and finishing stages were mechanical, while the weaving of all fabrics was done by hand-loom. Though Cartwright's power-loom dates from 1787, its adoption in Scotland was slow, and there were said to be 48,000 hand-loom weavers in the Lowlands in 1838. The cotton industry did well during the Napoleonic Wars but suffered from the subsequent depression. Foreign competition deprived the weavers of their privileged position and high pay, things went from bad to worse, and by 1840 weekly wages ranged from 10s. for fine work down to a miserable 4s. for the lowest grades. Power-weaving was in the ascendant by the 'forties, though hand-loom

continued in use for fine work until much later—a few, indeed, until to-day. The whole industry was, however, virtually on a factory basis by 1860, when there were some 160 cotton mills, mostly located in Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire.

Progress in linen was throughout slower. Hand-spinning was preferred to the rougher work of the early machines until, in 1825, Kay overcame the technical difficulties. The work of spinning was then transferred from the country cottages to the master spinners' mills in Dundee, Angus, Perth and Fife. Though hand-spinning was thus out-dated by 1850, hand-loomes were to be found in all the chief eastern towns from the Forth to Aberdeen. The weavers had lost their independence; owning their machines, they were yet mere wage-workers employed by capitalistic manufacturers. For them, too, the post-War depression meant wretched living, for, labour being cheap and price-cutting competitive, their weekly wages dropped from a war-time height of over £1 to 6s. or 7s. Low labour costs militated against the establishment of power-loomes and it was not till the 'sixties that they began to push the hand-loomes out of business. The woollen industry grew slowly with many small and widely-scattered mills; it was after mid-century that the hand-loom gradually gave way to power. Local products like Border tweeds, Kilmarnock carpets and Hawick hose found favour, and by 1850 there were over 180 woollen mills in operation.

Quite apart from the great progress in the metallurgical industries, several factors combined to destroy the economic pre-eminence of cotton and linen. Cotton depended on widely fluctuating supply and demand, since raw materials had to be imported and, though the domestic market was a good one, most finished goods were for export; gingham and plain muslins were made, but more looms were engaged on fine and fashionable work, particularly the well-known Paisley shawls, made of silk, cotton, or a mixture of the two. The precarious basis of the industry was

revealed in the ruin of many firms in the financial panic of 1857. The outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 drastically curtailed the supply of raw cotton and the lost ground was never recovered. Foreign competition became keen and Scotland had little experience in the making of the coarse fabrics which Lancashire sent out to India. More and more firms closed down and the declining popularity of Paisley shawls from the 'seventies onwards was the crowning blow. Paisley itself changed to cotton thread, but elsewhere the industry simply came to an end, and to-day there are very few mills left to carry on the old tradition.

As the west had once deserted linen for cotton, so Dundee, now the chief linen centre with more than half the mills, changed to jute; in each case the transition was gradual, the new material being first used in conjunction with the old. From 1835 jute was being exclusively used for sacking, sheeting and some finer work, and, expanding rapidly after 1850, it left flax behind; raw jute was brought directly from Calcutta to Dundee, which was taking ten times as much jute as flax by the 'eighties and seventeen times as much by 1910. About the same time Kirkcaldy, another linen town, was changing to linoleum, which by 1900 was a large local industry. Dunfermline alone of big eastern towns remained faithful to linen, and here, as a result of the esteem in which its damask was held, the remainder of the industry tended to concentrate.

Thus Scottish textiles entered on their third, or modern, phase. During the first phase the "domestic" manufacture of linen had been a corollary to agriculture, during the second cotton in the west and linen in the east had been gradually put on a factory basis, and were each homogeneous, capitalistic enterprises in the first rank of industries, and during the third textiles lost their unity and nation-wide significance and gave way to various specialized and localized branches. The changes of the last phase may be illustrated by a comparison of the number of employees

in 1851 and in 1911. At the former date there were some 250,000 textile workers, or rather more than one-twelfth of the total population, with cotton first, flax and jute second, and woollens far behind. On the eve of the War the number had dropped to 164,500, two-thirds of them women—little more than one-thirtieth of the population. Jute and hemp had jumped to first place, woollens to second, with linen third, cotton only fourth, and other groups engaged in thread, lace, hosiery, carpets and silks.

In the rise of the metallurgical industries from a subordinate position at the opening of the nineteenth century to one of equality with textiles by the middle, and to one of dominance by the close, the main feature is the interdependence of the various branches, coal, iron, steel, engineering and shipbuilding. A technical improvement in one department benefited the others in turn, and abundant raw materials, together with native wit and some opportune inventions, eventually brought orders from all over the world. Expansion was made possible from the base upwards by the opening of the rich Coatbridge coalfields and the adoption of the steam-engine for raising coal, which ensured adequate supplies for domestic and industrial users alike. No less essential were two pioneering achievements in iron-working. Mushet's discovery, in 1801, of blackband ironstone was supremely important, since this ore, available in quantities, could sometimes be smelted without any additional coal, and always with real economy. Full use of it was not made until Neilson's hot-blast furnace, patented in 1828, at length convinced the incredulous ironmasters of the practicality of getting better results along with a 70 per cent. saving of fuel. Ironworks sprang up around Coatbridge and Motherwell, Airdrie forsook weaving for coal and iron, Ayrshire followed Lanarkshire, and Fife, East Stirling and West Lothian also participated. The annual output, still below 100,000 tons in the early 'thirties, topped the million mark in the early 'sixties.

Improved communications were almost a prerequisite for this expansion. Roads, bridges, canals, harbours, docks and lighthouses were built or re-built, Rennie, Telford and Macadam doing much for England as well as for their own country. The Crinan and Caledonian Canals were real engineering feats, but their importance was local compared to that of the Lowland waterways, especially the Union Canal, which linked Edinburgh with Falkirk and so with Glasgow. The canals, carrying many passengers and much freight, were able to declare big dividends during the 'twenties and 'thirties. But the times demanded speed; the response came in railways and steamships, and the heyday of the canals was over. Railways, developing from the collieries' wooden trams with horse-drawn wagons, followed England's lead closely, the Monkland and Kirkintilloch line opening in 1826, only one year after the Stockton and Darlington. In the early 'thirties, after the Liverpool-Manchester experiment had ensured the triumph of the locomotive, came the Edinburgh-Dalkeith and Dundee-Newtyle lines, as well as many others near Glasgow. The Edinburgh-Glasgow line (1842) opened up wider possibilities, and soon lines were being built all over the country; the chief companies were the Caledonian, Glasgow and South-Western, North British, North-Eastern and Great North of Scotland, which between them eventually absorbed the others. By 1850 the whole of Scotland below Aberdeen was inter-connected and linked up with England; the far north had longer to wait and the work was going on late in the century.

In view of its later triumphs, shipbuilding made a slow start. Many vessels had been built in the colonies, where timber was plentiful and the industry was encouraged by the Navigation Acts, fishing craft had been constructed at Leith, but the average Scottish ship was still one of sixty or seventy tons. To meet the needs of the cotton trade, however, shipyards were set up during the first quarter of the century to turn out vessels of 500 or even 800 tons, and by 1820

only 600 out of Scotland's 2,800 ships were foreign-built. The honour of "inventing" the steamship is variously attributed to several early experimenters, mainly Scottish and American, but what is indisputable is that Bell's *Comet* of 1812 immediately inspired imitations and began a new era. By 1818 there were at least twenty-eight vessels plying on Scottish rivers, and in that year sea-going steamships were started. Leith, Dundee and Aberdeen followed the Clyde yards, and during the next twenty years Scottish builders were setting up new records every year—tonnage going from 200 to 1,200, horse-power from 60 to 300, speed from 9 to 13 knots. During the 'forties steamships were competing with sailing vessels on the American, South African and Indian routes, and Scotland had more than her share of the work—the first four Cunarders being all Clyde-built.

All this had at first little to do with iron, for the early steamships were wooden. Moreover, as late as 1850 there were twenty Scottish sailing ships to every steamer and down to 1869 Aberdeen built her famous clipper ships. But far-seeing observers, noting the superior resistance and carrying capacity of iron over wood, knew that the wooden windjammer was doomed. The substitution of the propeller for the paddle and technical improvements of the marine engine decided the issue. The readiness of the Clyde builders to adopt steam, iron and screw, in conjunction with the mineral wealth of the hinterland, placed them at the head of the world's shipbuilders and, incidentally, evoked the characteristic alliance between coal, iron, engineering and shipbuilding, on which the prosperity of the West of Scotland was founded. Firms like William Baird's owned coal and ironstone mines, as well as blast-furnaces, others like the Scotts or Cairds of Greenock combined iron-founding with engineering and shipbuilding. The demand was brisk and continuous, not only for ships, but for locomotives, textile machinery, sugar machinery, constructional metalwork and a host of others of varied but allied nature.

The 'seventies mark an epoch in this industrial expansion. Over a million tons of pig-iron and 150,000 tons of wrought iron were produced annually; behind furnace and foundry lay the coal mines, with constantly rising output, before them lay the engineering shops and the demand for more and larger ships, ships for passenger and cargo traffic, for the navy, for coastal services and fishing, ships for Scotland, Britain, the Empire and the world. The "heavy" group, employing some 150,000 persons, was overhauling textiles, and a comparison of wage rates shows the advantages it enjoyed over its older rivals. The coalminer's daily earnings averaged from 3s. 6d. to 4s. throughout the century and sometimes rose as high as 10s. Skilled iron workers, engineers and shipwrights were sure of from £1 to 30s. per week. Meanwhile hand-loom weavers' weekly wages fell between 1800 and 1870, with only local and temporary revivals, from 30s. to a miserable 4s. 6d., and those of male factory-workers, subject to the wildest fluctuations as well as utter insecurity, might average 15s.

After the 'seventies technical improvements in the treatment of steel enabled the Clyde shipbuilders to use it in place of iron; whereas 10 per cent. of the tonnage launched in 1879 was steel, in 1889 it was 97 per cent. Steelworks sprang up near Glasgow, especially at Motherwell, and on the eve of the War a million and a quarter tons were being produced each year. Firms like John Brown and William Beardmore combined steelmaking and shipbuilding, while engineering works made boilers, marine engines, locomotives, electrical and sanitary appliances, machine tools, factory equipment, and so on. The output of coal rose steadily, not only in response to domestic demands, but also for export, for Britain, though passed in production by the United States in 1899, remained the world's chief exporter. The trend of the times was towards amalgamation both of firms and of functions, and more than ever before shipbuilding and engineering, resting on a basis of coal, iron and steel, presented a

united front as the main economic interest of Scotland.

Skill and vigour were required to meet the new conditions of the twentieth century. Scottish industry, requiring two and a half million tons of iron ore every year, could no longer rely on domestic supplies, since they were running short and steel-making demanded haematite ores, which had to be brought in from England and Spain—a million and a half tons of it annually. The self-sufficiency of the heavy group thus disappeared. Coal's supremacy as a fuel was threatened by oil, in which, save for the not very important shale-mines, Scotland was woefully deficient. Worst of all, nations which had been good customers for Scottish ships and machinery were learning to manufacture for themselves, and Clydeside found it hard to maintain its old pre-eminence. This meant nothing less than that Scotland's shipbuilders and engineers, her skilled furnacemen and foundry-workers, boiler-makers, platers and riveters, could not be certain of their place in the markets of the world. The blow was softened by the brisk demand for luxury liners and for "dreadnoughts" and other warships required in the race for naval armaments between Britain and Germany. In both departments the Clyde did well, and 1913 was the peak year of shipbuilding, with an output of 750,000 tons, which was one-third of the United Kingdom total and greater than that of all Germany.

It is easy to see in retrospect that there was something hectic and unreal about the industrial activity of 1913. Indeed, the whole basis of Scotland's economic structure was showing flaws. The population was 4,800,000, or three times that of 1800, and this increase had naturally fostered many more or less "sheltered" trades and occupations, catering to the needs of large aggregates of people. There were thus nearly 200,000 persons in domestic service, over 140,000 purveyors of food (bakers, butchers, grocers and so forth), and some 125,000 transport workers by land and sea. Other large groups comprised house-builders, government employees, shop-keepers, professional people and

clerical workers. But it was the basic industries whose expansion had caused the population's growth and whose maintenance was a primary national interest, if serious hardship and dislocation were to be avoided. Agriculture, successful so far as it went, was faced by the competition of more fertile lands and was now the specialized calling of 200,000—one-tenth of the country's paid workers. Textiles employed nearly 165,000 in various localized branches, of which even the largest, Dundee jute, was losing ground in Calcutta to Indian rivals. Industries like paper, printing, leather, pottery, glass and chemicals, were firmly established but definitely secondary. To put it bluntly, Scotland had put her eggs in one basket; with coal employing 140,000 miners, iron and steel 170,000 persons and shipbuilding 63,000, the heavy industries accounted for over 400,000 workers, which represented one-fifth of the country's total and considerably more than one-quarter of the total of male workers of all kinds. Over-expanded and insufficiently varied, Scottish industry was peculiarly exposed to the sort of adversity which was all too clearly prognosticated during the pre-War years.

If the material progress of the eighteenth century had been accompanied by a notable social advance, the same cannot be affirmed of the early nineteenth century. Already, by 1851, there had taken place a redistribution, as well as a 75 per cent. increase, of population. The rate of growth was rapid in the towns, slow in the counties, some of which, like Argyll, Kinross and Perth, had passed their peak and begun to decline. During the half-century Glasgow had grown fourfold, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen had doubled in size, and after them, in order, came Paisley, Govan, Greenock, Leith, Coatbridge, Perth, Airdrie and Kilmarnock. There had thus been a shifting of the population centre to the neighbourhood of the Clyde and a tremendous influx into the towns. Evicted cottars, farm labourers displaced by machinery, ambitious and venturesome peasants, all flocked to the factories in search of high

wages. To them were added, from the 'twenties onwards, many poverty-stricken Irishmen. The "hungry 'forties" drove them over in thousands, and by mid-century, when the invasion had reached its maximum, this alien element was considerable—one in six in Glasgow and Dundee, one in eight in Paisley and Kilmarnock, one in fourteen over all Scotland.

We do not know exactly how the Scottish people were housed, since the available statistics are imperfect; for example, the returns give under 13,500 houses for Glasgow's 345,000 inhabitants in 1851—"houses" being buildings with separate entries, not flats or tenements. Yet the accommodation for all Scotland apparently fell between 1801 and 1851, for, whereas there were 546 persons to one hundred houses in the earlier year, there were 780 in the later. Moreover, from 1808 until 1851 a vicious window-tax on houses of over £5 rental cramped the development of better dwellings.

Country life showed the fewest departures from traditional ways. The typical farm-house was still the "but-and-ben," or kitchen and best room, with sometimes a small third room or a furnished attic. The garden was usually a kailyard, though fruit-growing and market-gardens were not uncommon. House-furniture ordinarily comprised box-beds, straight backed wooden chairs, chests, table, press and spinning-wheel. At a short distance from the farm-house were the cottages of the married labourers, whose yearly wages were around £25; these cottages were often low-roofed, single-roomed, chimneyless and thatched. Single men, with lower wages, lived in bothies, which, though varying from farm to farm, were too frequently filthy and sordid adjuncts of the stables, with men and women promiscuously crowded together; little wonder that one birth out of six was illegitimate in some counties. Sanitary ideas very seldom ran beyond the old-fashioned privy-midden. The regular diet was as formerly—porridge, with milk or "small beer," oat-cakes, kail, potatoes and herring, with occasional

bread and flour scones, mutton, or beef. The fare varied in quantity rather than in kind on the traditional festivals—Hallowe'en, with its characteristic kitchen-games, Hogmanay, marked by "guisers," rustic tableaux and first-footing, Handsel Monday, the occasion for family reunions and gifts, Fastern's E'en, with cock-fighting in schools, the half-yearly Communion, Harvest-home, feeing-fairs for farm servants (who were given to frequent changes), funerals with the subsequent "draigie" and weddings with fiddlers and dancing. Whisky was not the least of the ingredients called for by these functions. The country-dweller went to horse-races and cattle-shows, ploughing-matches and local fairs, while shinty and curling were popular in the Highlands, but, on the whole, large potations of whisky seem to have been the normal method of relaxation and amusement.

As to the towns, everything shows that, while the nation's energies were directed towards the rapid amassing of wealth, little heed was paid to the human factor, to the need for decent working conditions, for health and comfort in the home, for the relief of poverty and over-crowding. Work was often plentiful, but subject to great fluctuations in demand and supply. Cotton spinners' wages might rise to 2rs. and fall to 3s. Child-labour was unchecked until the legislation of 1840-50 and even then did not cease entirely. Unemployment was intermittent, but wholesale and terrible in its effects: 10,000 unemployed workers constituted no rare phenomenon in Glasgow or Paisley. Trades unions, barely legalized by the Act of 1825, had to work in underground ways, and, although strikes did occur during recurring booms and depressions, the masters retained control through drawing on cheap Irish labour or the supply of half-starved Scottish peasants.

While Glasgow manufacturers had imposing mansions in the west end (now closing up the gap towards Partick) and Edinburgh lawyers favoured the fashionable New Town, while, indeed, some of the new wealth

was already being diverted to the acquisition of country seats, for the vast bulk of the people it was a time of discomfort, disease and death. Many city-dwellings had earthen floors below street-level, more than one family might occupy a one-roomed "house," water-closets and baths, public or private, were rarities, refuse and offal were disposed of in any place and manner which seemed momentarily convenient, miners' rows in the smaller towns, with common garbage-dumps and privy-middens, were dens of degradation, and darkness, damp and filth were universal. Too busily engaged in the mere struggle for survival, the masses reaped few benefits from the sanitary improvements of the time. Private water companies were set up in the cities and towns, but public wells, which served as meeting places for gossiping housewives, were the rule; private wells were scarce and unreliable in either frost or drought. Speculative citizens profited by their fellows' needs by selling water at a half-penny per measure. Street-lighting and house-lighting depended on oil lamps until, from about 1820, local gas companies, also private concerns, supplied the new illuminant at rates which imposed the severest economy on public and private users alike.

Unlit, unpaved streets and closes, dark and dirty entries, the fetid air of over-crowded rooms, unhealthy work in polluted atmosphere—all were an invitation to epidemics. Typhus, the great filth-plague, hung around Glasgow's closes and wynds from 1818 onwards, and cholera swept away thousands in its three chief visitations, in 1832, 1849 and 1854. Small-pox afflicted the Irish workers in particular, and underlying the more spectacular epidemic outbreaks was a chronic festering sore of ill-health and disease. The rudimentary counter-measures which were taken were unsuccessful. Hospitals were few, poor and ill-equipped, and nurses little better than drunken slatterns. Medical science was hampered as regards anatomical research by the repercussions of the Burke and Hare scandal; wild rumours (not entirely groundless) of resurrectionists

or body-lifters persisted for long afterwards, and popular prejudice delayed progress. It cannot be said that in the vital concerns of health, housing and cleanliness the Scottish nation was any better off in 1850 than in 1800 ; rather, as a result of the inrush of Scottish peasants and low Irish to towns unprepared and unfit to receive them, social evils had been intensified.

In the ordinary life of the townsfolk some old habits lingered on ; till after mid-century, for example, the eight o'clock curfew warned children to go home to bed, just as the rising-bell summoned their parents to work at six o'clock. Many changes, however, were coming in. Theatres were available in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and elsewhere travelling companies, still encountering hostile criticism, made their rounds. Other entertainments included penny concerts, occasional circuses and menageries, horse-races, many of them instituted or revived during the eighteenth century, and, of course, the great Glasgow Fair, with its conjurers, monsters, marionettes, peep-shows and shooting-ranges lining the Saltmarket and Stockwell Street and attracting thousands of visitors from all around. Football, golf and quoits were played, but it is a mistake to imagine the mere spectator of games as belonging exclusively to the twentieth century ; the town-dweller of that time enjoyed his prize-fights, cock-fighting, ratting and dog-fights.

The dinner-hour continued its leisurely journey backward through the afternoon ; five o'clock was for long the fashionable time, but by 1850 six-thirty was more usual. Glasgow's suburban tea gardens, where tea, fruits, curds and cream, were consumed, helped to bridge the gap between meals, but, with tea selling at eight shillings a pound and white sugar at ninepence, the beverage was still a luxury, as, indeed, were beef, butter and bacon, during periods of high prices. Haddocks or crabs at a penny each and herring at two-pence a dozen necessarily appeared oftener on the table of most townsfolk, and they clung to porridge, oatcakes and potatoes for a similar reason—the

wheaten loaf sometimes sold for one shilling. The Napoleonic Wars confirmed the trend of the gentry towards port and sherry in place of "unpatriotic" claret, whilst the commoners were faithful to whisky, illicit or not. Drunkenness, as one of the few avenues of escape from wretched conditions, remained common, and inspired the establishment of temperance and total abstinence societies in many towns from about 1830. It is only fair to add that many workers made determined efforts to raise themselves out of the rut by self-education and self-culture; though materially worse off than their English fellows, their intellectual status was higher. Lending libraries and newspaper circles (of perhaps half-a-dozen men subscribing to one of the Edinburgh, Glasgow or Dundee papers) were common, and the weavers in particular were noted as great readers, talkers and thinkers, as well as keen radicals. On the whole, however, the changes of half a century had meant prosperity for the lucky few and degradation or at the best stagnation for the many.

Real progress was made during the second half of the nineteenth and the opening of the twentieth centuries. The population continued to expand, but at a slower pace, emigration, especially during the 1880's and 1900's, serving as a check on the natural increase, since the outward flow greatly exceeded the immigration from England, Ireland and elsewhere. On the eve of the War the seven chief towns were Glasgow, which had absorbed its suburbs to top the million-mark, Edinburgh, with one-third of that number, Dundee and Aberdeen, each one-half, and Paisley, Leith and Greenock, each one-quarter of the size of the capital. For all seven loss by emigration was slowing down the increase due to excess of births over deaths, and yet it was officially computed that Scotland was then three-fourths urban, one-fourth rural.

The central fact of the period is the belated awakening of the social conscience, followed by the governmental assumption of responsibility for the life and health of all citizens. Reliable statistics fanned public

indignation, and town councils in particular were obliged to enter the field of health and hygiene and to administer social services. In the process opposition was met, for lethargy and complacency died hard. The editor of the *Census Report* of 1871, in commenting on the fact that 6,269 people, mostly Highlanders and Islanders, lived in single-roomed, windowless, chimneyless huts, was able to write—"One advantage enjoyed by the inhabitants of such districts is the purity of the air and water." Some manufacturers later objected to a fortnightly holiday as being conducive to idleness among the workers. Of course, the age had no monopoly of clumsily disguised selfishness and greed; before the restriction of child labour a Scottish minister opined "There can be no training of the volatile minds of youth equal to that which is maintained at the factories," just as, in 1933, several Glasgow citizens defended the employment of boys to deliver morning papers and milk as being beneficial to their health, character and morals.

Improvements went on steadily from the middle of the century, and the process may best be studied at the point where they were most urgently required—in Glasgow. The great typhus epidemic of 1853-54 was the prelude to the municipalization of the water supply and the harnessing of Loch Katrine. Gas followed in 1869 (Glasgow being long behind some others in this respect), electricity in 1891, and the tramways in 1894. A medical officer was appointed in 1863 and the first fever hospital opened in 1865. The last major outbreak of typhus in 1868-69 led to the appointment of a sanitary inspector, to the adoption of real protective measures and to the ultimate conquest of the twin horrors of typhus and cholera. Improvements Acts of 1866 and later years authorized the destruction or renovation of old buildings and the provision of replacements, and within twenty-five years numerous blocks were demolished and new houses found for some 50,000 displaced inhabitants. After 1890 the authorities carried out slum clearances

which swept away well over 4,000 houses. Some workers' model lodging-houses were set up, but there was a marked drift outwards, away from the congested tenements around the High Street, Gallowgate, Tron-gate and Saltmarket. Much remained to be done, but the fall in the city's death-rate, from 28-34 per thousand in the 'fifties and 'sixties to just over 17 in the pre-War years, speaks for itself. Infantile mortality also showed a distinct though smaller improvement, from about one death to six births at the opening of the period to about one in eight at its close.

All over Scotland governments, central and local, were undertaking new social duties, poor relief, registration, education, public health, sanitation, river-pollution, animals' diseases, old age pensions and, on the eve of the War, compulsory national insurance. Above all others lay the need for housing reform. In 1861 there were still nearly 8,000 single-roomed houses devoid of windows, and a half-century passed before they disappeared. In the following year the collapse of a rotten Edinburgh tenement killed twenty-two persons. Glasgow's typical house has been described as a "gloomy, giant tenement, the colour of mud, built to last for ever, cut up into boxes, with a tap on the staircase." (Mr. Thomas Jones, in *The Times*, March 4, 1932). Buildings had been occupied from generation to generation with the minimum of change—except towards further congestion. The housing returns for 1861 reveal a lamentable state of affairs: 27 per cent. of the people lived in one-roomed houses, nearly 38 per cent. in two-roomed houses; hence just over one-third of the population had homes of three or more rooms. Moreover, the smaller dwellings were occupied, on an average, by more than four persons to each house; some single rooms, indeed, were used by large numbers, up to and including fifteen persons. Each succeeding Census showed a slight improvement. The number of one-roomed houses was reduced, by 1911, almost by one-half, and the persons using them by more than half. With a

growing population, this meant a reduction in the numbers living in them from 37 to under 9 per cent. More two-roomed houses came into use, so that on the eve of the War nearly half the population still lived in houses of one or two rooms, and rather more than half in larger homes. The greatest increase was among those dwelling in three-roomed houses (from 13 to 22 per cent.), but all the larger types were doubled in number. The improvement was thus not in the number of dwellings, which rose only with the population, but in their size; whereas 100 rooms housed 179 persons in 1861, they were occupied by 145 persons in 1911.

Not all districts benefited to an equal degree, for there remained great differences between county and county, and still more between town and town. Conditions were most satisfactory in small semi-rural towns and least so in the industrial belt. At Armadale, the worst-housed town in Scotland, over 80 per cent. of the inhabitants lived in one- or two-roomed houses, and the proportion was over 70 per cent. in ten other typical factory-towns, mostly in the south-west—Galston, Barrhead, Clydebank, Govan, Coatbridge, Airdrie, Motherwell, Wishaw, Kilsyth and Lochgelly. A comparison with England in 1911 reveals the appalling Scottish inferiority. Of the total English population residing in private dwellings, only 7.5 per cent. lived in either one- or two-roomed houses, and practically 80 per cent. occupied four-roomed or larger houses. Scotland's largest groups were those in two- and three-roomed houses, England's, in four-, five- and six-roomed houses. Clearly only the major Scottish evils had been dealt with, by way of first aid rather than radical reform; slum clearance was yet in its infancy.

The food of the people showed little change, except that tea and wheaten bread, cheap enough for most purses, came into excessive favour and, in conjunction with porridge, potatoes and oat-cakes, supplied a starchy and unhealthy national diet. Prices advanced

spasmodically, but wages more than kept pace with them; as we saw, skilled men often made 30s. per week, and farm servants sometimes had 15s. Trades unions, legalized during the years 1867-76, fought for the workers, not only against low wages and long hours, but also against the iniquitous "truck" system, whereby masters, by running monopolist stores, defrauded the men out of much of their wages. Insecurity of employment persisted; though everyone benefited from the boom times, there was woeful suffering during the slumps. Bad years threw well over 10,000 men out of work in the chief cities, and there were said to be 38,000 persons in receipt of poor relief in Glasgow at the time of the panic of 1878. Industrial dislocation entailed real destitution until, under Asquith's administration, the State offered old age pensions and health and unemployment insurance.

The margin of leisure was increased for all classes, and both workers' fortnightly holidays and school children's long summer vacation became the rule. From 1850 dancing was popular in fashionable assembly rooms, at village fairs, feeing markets and even church "socials." The old folk-festivals, Hallowe'en, Hogmanay and Handsel Monday, slowly gave way before other occasions for merry-making, especially Christmas Day, once spurned as Popish. The universal custom of tea-drinking called many tea-rooms into being, just as cycling, during the 'eighties and 'nineties, and motoring in the 1900's, induced a slight betterment of inns and hotels, ever a weak point in Scotland; though motoring, was as yet the costly sport of the very wealthy. Among games, cricket, a late incomer, was popular with boys rather than men, golf and tennis had their devotees, but, above all, football was the national favourite, both as a game and a spectacle. The theatre could hardly yet see in the cinema a potential rival. Probably the wide choice of amusements had more to do with the notable decline in drunkenness than either specific temperance movements or the stricter control of both

the manufacture and the sale of spirits, though all had their share in transforming alcoholic excess from a chronic into an occasional national characteristic. To many people, of course, especially to those in "sheltered" professions, trades and occupations, the pre-War era brought happiness, comfort and prosperity, but in the lives of the manual workers and for the mass of the people, though conditions had vastly improved since 1850, the pernicious results of over-hasty and maladroit industrialization were all too evident.

In sheer wealth and employment the War spelt prosperity for both agriculture and industry. Recruiting and conscription meant work at high nominal wages for all who remained behind; coalminers, for instance, got 13s. per day in 1918, as against 7s. in 1914, and the rise was steeper for the less-skilled grades of war work. Foodstuffs and raw materials were in demand and farmers benefited from a ready and certain market, since fears of a food shortage led to governmental appeals for larger crops, with the result that the acreage under wheat and oats rose. Industries needed much coal and the supplies for home use remained fairly constant at some thirty million tons. But there were 20,000 fewer miners in 1918 than in 1914, and, despite the work of electrical coal-cutters, this circumstance, in conjunction with price-fixing at high levels and the lack of transport, determined the loss of foreign markets, so that exports fell by more than three-quarters.

The output of iron and steel, despite the dependence on foreign ores and the shortage of shipping, was nearly normal, but most of it went to the making of shells (Scotland produced twelve millions in all), in addition to guns, cartridges, bombs and other munitions. Other branches, considered subsidiary, were put under governmental control and exports reduced to a minimum. This meant the loss, or rather the abandonment, of foreign markets at the very time when capacity was being increased by the building of new works and the renovation of old ones. Admiralty

shipbuilding was quadrupled, and, since this branch and repair-work had priority, while both labour and materials were short, mercantile construction at first declined drastically. Later the blockade, the maintenance of food-supplies, destruction by submarines and the discouragement of neutral shipping through the hazards of war, rendered necessary further mercantile shipbuilding, but, despite these incentives, the Clyde output never approached the 1913 figure of 750,000 tons and the yearly average was under 500,000 tons.

Other industries, like locomotives, bridge-building and chemicals, suffered through the diversion to munitions work, and lost their markets abroad. Textiles were badly hit for the same reason; there was a change-over to army goods, such as blankets and shirts, and again exports dropped sharply. Foreign trade, practically confined to war-time necessities like food and iron-ores, inevitably fell off, exports from Glasgow (one of the safer ports) being almost cut in half. There were, as we have seen, some labour troubles and stoppages, due mainly to the employment of women and to "dilution," but difficulties were less serious than might have been expected and did not vitally impede war-time production.

The immediate social effects of the War were a mixture of good and evil. Depopulation was accelerated in the rural districts, but there was little or none in the towns, since the flocking of workers to the essential industries balanced the exodus of recruits and even the 74,000 Scotsmen killed. Over-crowding in small houses increased, and slum conditions became worse, for new housing was negligible. On the other hand, the pre-War unemployment was liquidated, poor relief was less in demand, savings bank deposits rose with wages, children were better fed, and infantile mortality was less than usual. And yet the really disastrous effects of the War on the national economy are undeniable. Everywhere the story is the same—dislocation of work, concentration on unproductive

manufactures which had no place in peace-time, shortage of transport and labour for normal industry and the abandonment of foreign markets to keen competitors. The permanence of these injuries and losses is of even greater moment than the fact that the whole feverish activity could be maintained only at the cost of saddling posterity with a stupendous war-debt.

Scottish farming reacted badly to the withdrawal of the war-time stimulus, and as early as 1921 the depression in agriculture was being talked about. Almost every branch suffered contraction. The acreage under cultivation declined steeply for wheat and barley, less drastically for oats and potatoes; the main reason was the steady fall in prices, for wheat, which had soared over 70s. per quarter towards the end of the War and during the first two years of peace, soon dropped to 50s. and the 1929 slump sent it down to 34s. in 1930 and 24s. 8d. in 1931—the cheapest it had been during the century. By 1932 only five counties—Angus, Fife, Perth, Midlothian and East Lothian—were vitally concerned in wheat-growing. The development of mechanical transport reduced the demand for horses, and, although Scotland had produced, in the Clydesdale, the world's finest heavy horse, the total numbers fell from 200,000 to 150,000, which were concentrated mainly in Aberdeenshire and other eastern counties. Sheep-rearing, on the other hand, actually increased, and in 1931 there were nearly eight million sheep.

The net effect of the changes was to reduce the area under crops and permanent grass to less than one-quarter of that of Scotland. The following table, compiled from the Census of Agricultural Production for 1931, presents a view of the state of farming and its position in the national economy:

	Acreage Percentage (ooo's omitted) of whole.	
Wheat	50	0.3
Barley	88	0.5
Oats	835	4.4
—Total grain-crops	973	5.1

	Acreage (000's omitted)	Percentage of whole.
Turnips and swedes	361	1.9
Potatoes	128	0.7
Other crops and bare fallow	56	0.3
—Total green crops	545	2.9
—Total tillage	1,518	8.0
Rotation grass	1,534	8.0
—Total arable	3,052	16.0
Permanent grass	1,580	8.3
—Total farm-land	4,632	24.3
Rough grazings	9,180	48.1
Deer forests	3,390	17.8
Woodlands	850	4.5
Remainder	1,020	5.3

By 1931, therefore, almost one-half of the surface of Scotland was grazing-ground, over one-sixth of it deer-forests, and less than one-quarter farmland. This last section was one-third permanent grass, one-third rotation grass, and one-third actual tillage. Oats accounted for more than one-half of the tilled area, and, in diminishing order, turnips, potatoes, barley and wheat for the rest. The shrinkage in the cultivated area, together with the increasing use of mechanical appliances, is evidence of the realization of the fact that only scientific farming of the most productive land could, in the face of free imports, be anything but disastrously unprofitable. By 1931, indeed, continuously falling prices had brought the Scottish farmer, like his English fellow, to the brink of despair. It is at first sight surprising to find, from the *Census Report* of that year, only a slight decrease in the number of persons employed in agriculture—from 183,000 in 1921 to under 177,000 in 1931—the concurrent drop in fishing, due mainly to the reduced Russian and German demand for herring, was proportionally heavier—from 25,000 to less than 22,000. The reason for the slower rate of rural depopulation is to be found in conditions in the towns, which could no

longer absorb unlimited numbers of workers from the country.

For Scottish industry the period was one of violent fluctuations. The removal of price-control from iron and steel and the replacement-needs of mercantile shipping brought something like a boom in 1919 and 1920, when the Clyde's annual output was about 650,000 tons. There was a three months' coal stoppage in 1921, the furnaces in blast fell to 40 (there had been 85 during the War), and one out of five insured workers was unemployed—a severe test for the new insurance scheme inaugurated in 1920. From 1922 onwards, though shipbuilding declined heavily, some of the export trade in coal, forfeited during the War, was recovered. The seven months' coal stoppage of 1926, which led to the General Strike, affected all industry adversely, besides necessitating the importation of foreign coal. The metallurgical branches, meanwhile, were hampered by temporary stoppages, reduced shifts and unusable surplus stocks, for, with the exhaustion of the supply of hard "splint" coal in Lanarkshire, the iron-masters were in a dilemma: if they imported coking-coal, their production costs rose, and, if they used Scottish raw coal, their relative efficiency fell. Imports of iron-ore declined, some antiquated furnaces were scrapped, many more had to be damped down, and the production of pig-iron fell off. This decrease reacted on the manufacture of steel, which, though fairly well maintained until 1930, came to rely more and more on pig-iron from other countries. Thus Britain's open market became increasingly attractive to foreign exporters of iron and steel. So, too, with Italian and Czechoslovakian linen manufacturers, whose competition, based on low production costs, was most injurious to the country's traditional industries; textiles, indeed, were assailed from all quarters, including Japan, India and China, and suffered in all major departments except hosiery manufacture. The one comforting factor in the economic situation was the periodic demand for large

and luxurious liners, which depended on American prosperity and kept the Scottish shipyards busy; over the three years 1928-30 the Clyde tonnage averaged three-quarters of that of 1913.

The American depression of October, 1929, which had immediate, universal and disastrous repercussions, was a crowning blow. By 1931 coal output had dropped to 29 million tons—the lowest during the century with the exception of the great strike years of 1921 and 1926—and exports to four and a half millions. Imports of steel actually exceeded exports, and there was a time in 1931 when only one out of 77 furnaces was in blast. Clyde shipbuilding output, at 150,000 tons, was the lowest it had been for half a century. In September of that year the unemployed, who during the 'twenties had generally numbered about 100,000, reached the appalling total of 377,000; if we make allowance for their families and dependents, add thereto some 200,000 persons in receipt of poor relief, and remember that insurance benefit, transitional payment and public assistance aimed at providing bare subsistence, we should conclude that by 1931 well over one million persons were living in circumstances of great hardship and penury.

The *Census Report* for 1931 showed that, for the first time on record, Scotland's population had declined—from 4,882,497 in 1921 to 4,842,980—the inference from the known facts of registered births and deaths is that, in addition to some 329,000 who emigrated, other 63,000 moved away, mostly to England. The check to the growth of the population was thus not unconnected with the prolonged industrial stagnation or retrogression. The statistics of industry for 1931 illustrate the process in detail. The two groups of Mining and Quarrying, and the Manufacture of Metals and Machines, comprising between them Scotland's heavy industries, had employed 548,562 persons in 1921; in 1931 the total was 426,717, showing a decrease of 121,845, or 22.2 per cent. The following table gives the figures for particular industries or branches:

Scotland

	Total Personnel in 1921	Total Personnel in 1931	Decrease	Percentage Decrease
Coal Mining . . .	163,112	132,656	30,456	18·7
Smelting, etc. . .	41,529	27,638	13,891	33·4
Founding, etc. . .	54,423	42,813	11,610	21·3
General Engineer- ing.	91,297	65,381	25,916	28·4
Shipbuilding . . .	123,724	77,806	45,918	37·1
Cotton	25,009	19,719	5,290	21·2
Wool	22,357	20,412	1,945	8·7
Flax, Hemp, and Jute	53,822	53,566	256	0·5

These figures, of course, present only the industrial status of the adult population and take no account of unemployment, which was severe in all branches, even with the reduced numbers remaining within the industry. The labour demands of the traditional manufactures were shrinking rapidly with decreased demand from abroad and increased technical efficiency at home.

Turning now to the chief branches in which there was a marked upward trend during the decennial period, we find that the statistics yield the following results :

	Total Personnel in 1921	Total Personnel in 1931	Increase	Percent- age increase
Commerce and Finance	289,369	363,190	73,821	25·5
Building and Decorating	67,829	101,742	33,913	50·0
Personal Service Professions	199,648	222,954	23,306	11·7
Manufacture of Food, Drink and Tobacco	65,792	77,805	12,013	18·3
Entertainments and Sport	81,844	92,551	10,707	13·1
Paper and Printing	10,689	17,141	6,452	60·4
	46,078	52,160	6,082	13·2

	Total Personnel in 1921	Total Personnel in 1931	Increase	Percent- age increase
Chemicals and Dyes . . .	17,087	21,200	4,113	24.0
Bricks, Pottery and Glass . .	12,440	15,043	2,603	20.9
Silk Manufacture	646	1,910	1,264	195.7
Electrical Engi- neering and Manufactures .	9,518	10,379	861	9.1

It will be noticed that the first six on the list, responsible for the greatest numerical increases, are all heavily "sheltered," and that only one of them—Food, Drink and Tobacco—is in any sense a productive and manufacturing branch. The last five are in a different category, direct producers of consumers' as well as of capital goods, but here the actual increases are small, especially in relation to the enormous progress achieved elsewhere in departments such as silk and electrical manufactures. The main facts in Scotland's economic plight were these: while there were tremendous recessions in the heavy group and smaller declines among textiles, the newer industries were not being attracted to Scotland to any appreciable extent, and were not compensating for the losses sustained among those already well established. The most spectacular industrial development of the period was the National Grid scheme, which, commencing in 1927 and completed in outline by 1933, aimed at eventually raising the annual *per capita* consumption of electricity in Britain from 110 to 500 units and at reducing the average cost from over 2d. to 1d. per unit. Some of Scotland's abundant supply of hydro-electric power was tapped for the scheme, but in the circumstances of the time the small advance made in Scottish electrical manufactures was disappointing. Other modern businesses, like the building of motor-cars, aeroplanes and wireless apparatus, were negligible in scope.

Until 1931 British economic development had been conditioned by acceptance of *laissez-faire*, and free trade had added enormously to the country's wealth, making it the commercial, banking and insurance centre of the world. Scotland, as we have seen, advanced along with England, in shipping and commerce as well as in industry, and participated in the profits earned by the mercantile fleet, which still, in 1931, amounted to almost one-third of the world's total. Scotland's foreign trade was considerable; the Clyde ports, with 4 per cent. of Britain's total trade, imported iron ores and foodstuffs and sent out machinery and manufactures, the Forth was mainly interested in the export of coal, Dundee in jute, and Aberdeen and other eastern towns in fish. There had been little disposition prior to 1900 to question the validity of the free trade thesis, and thereafter the tariff proposals of Joseph Chamberlain in 1906 and of Mr. Baldwin in 1923 had been in turn rejected. True, *laissez-faire* had never been absolute. Considerable exceptions to the rule of unfettered private enterprise were implicit in the operations of factory laws, trades unions, minimum wage scales and trade boards, to say nothing of the State's postal services or the municipalities' gas, water, electricity and tramways departments, whilst, after the War, imperial preference and the safeguarding of "key" industries had given protection to a few selected articles; but the main theory still held the field.

The National Government's triumph in 1931, resting on a large majority of protectionist Conservatives, foreshadowed a return to tariffs, though they were not a direct issue in the election. The post-War world, indeed, had become familiar with the idea of State planning, in the Italian Corporative State and Russia's Five-year Plans; it was shortly to see a Fascist Germany and a gigantic American experiment in State capitalism and control. There were now many in Britain who advocated the abandonment of *laissez-faire* and the Government's assumption of economic re-

sponsibility. The heavy adverse visible balance of trade for 1931 and the conclusions reached at the Ottawa Imperial Conference of 1932 clinched the matter, and measures were adopted for the protection of domestic industry.

The protective system of 1932 and 1933 was imposed piecemeal and experimentally, and was subject to frequent revision, but in the aggregate almost every business was affected. Stock-breeding, a most valuable branch of Scottish agriculture, was assisted by import-quotas for beef, and similar methods were adopted in the case of mutton and bacon. The wheat-quota aimed at ensuring the farmer an outlet and a remunerative price for his crop, but Scotsmen were naturally more interested in the treatment of oats; an import duty of 10 per cent. was raised to one of 20 per cent. and, in December, 1933, changed to a flat charge of 3s. per cwt. Marketing schemes were set up for milk, pigs and potatoes. As early as January, 1931, with a Labour Government in office, a coal output quota had gone into effect, whereby quarterly totals were allocated to each district (Scotland forming one) by a central committee, and additional allocations to meet sudden demands were made permissive in 1933. Colliery reorganization and amalgamation were urged on the owners by the Government. All imports of iron and steel goods, finished or semi-finished, were subjected to a tariff of 33½ per cent., and firms were given notice to prepare schemes for their consolidation on a regional basis. Textiles and other manufactures were protected either by the general tariff of 10 per cent., or by higher specific duties, but many foodstuffs and raw materials (including those used in shipbuilding) were exempted from any payment.

It is early yet to pass judgment on the results of the new policy for Scotland; it is not even possible to say how much is to be attributed to each of three factors operating concurrently—the temporary protection of the devalued pound, the financial confidence created

by a balanced budget, and the whole system of tariffs and quotas. The effects on farming were almost bound to be at least temporarily beneficial, but for the heavy industries, interested in exports as well as in the home market, relief was certainly not immediate. 1932 was probably the worst year of the century. Coal output declined slightly, iron ore imports were a fraction of what they had once been, the number of furnaces in blast varied between one and seven, pig-iron production was one-tenth of that of the best year, 1906, and Clyde shipbuilding, at 67,000 tons, was at its lowest since 1860. The 1933 record was better on balance. True, coal production and export, faced by serious Polish competition, were little better, and, at the other end, shipbuilding was below even the 1932 figure, with 56,000 tons for the Clyde and 74,000 for all Scotland. But iron ore imports rose, there were by the end of the year ten furnaces in blast, and pig-iron output increased by more than 50 per cent. Textiles did better in the home market, and the general effect of tariffs was to discourage imports and to raise slightly the sale of domestic products. And at the very end of 1933 came reports of larger orders for the shipyards and the official announcement of a prospective resumption of work on Clydebank's giant Cunarder, destined to regain the "blue riband" of the Atlantic for Great Britain, but meanwhile lying on the stocks half-completed.

The unemployment statistics were, however, gloomy reminders of the prevailing distress, especially in the mining and metallurgical areas. By 1933 the total of insured workers in the coal mines fell just short of 110,000, and of these almost 28,000, or over 25 per cent., were unemployed. Still more startling were the figures for shipbuilding and marine engineering. The number of insured workers in the Clyde area shrank from 63,000 in 1928 to 48,000 in 1933, but even out of this diminished total no fewer than 31,000, or nearly 65 per cent., were out of work at the end of the year. For Scotland in general over a quarter of the insured

workers were unemployed in 1931, 1932 and 1933. In Wales the proportion was much higher, in Northern Ireland and Northern England it was about the same, whilst in the rest of England it was appreciably lower. During 1933 there was a slight improvement in Scotland, as elsewhere, the figure at the beginning of 1934—365,000—being 42,000 less than a year before, but even then the rate of unemployment exceeded 27 per cent. With more than 300,000 persons dependent on public assistance (some of the unemployed having been transferred by administrative changes), there could be as yet no talk of Scottish economic recovery; the best that could be said was that by the end of 1933 there were some signs of less intense depression.

The chief feature of post-War social history was the great extension of State activities. Long before 1914, of course, education had been a public charge and local re-housing schemes had been in operation, while shortly before that date old age pensions and compulsory national insurance had been instituted. From 1918 onwards, war pensions and allowances were granted to many soldiers and to soldiers' widows and orphans, unemployment insurance was made much more comprehensive and efficacious by an Act of 1920, public health services were co-ordinated under English and Scottish ministries, educational expenditure was greatly augmented, and several Housing and Slum Clearance Acts were passed. The State official, once known to the poor man as the harsh disciplinarian of prison or workhouse, became something of a friend and universal provider. The metamorphosis, partial as it was, was necessarily expensive: whereas £8 millions sufficed for Scotland's social services in 1910, £35 millions were required in 1920, and £60 millions in 1931 (in which year England, with a population over eight times as great, got less than seven times as much for these purposes). In view of the prevailing industrial distress, it was well that the increase of population was checked; as we have seen, a decline was recorded in 1931. It was then officially stated

that Scotland's population was four-fifths urban, one-fifth rural; though the total was slightly more than three times greater than that of 1801, seven counties had fewer inhabitants than at the earlier date—Berwick, Perth, Argyll, Nairn, Sutherland, Orkney and Shetland—and several others, also mainly rural, were apparently declining towards a similar state—Kirkcudbright, Kinross, Ross and Cromarty, and Caithness. The *Census Report* for 1931, indeed, recorded decreases in the population classified as "rural" in every county, while the urban areas showed only minor changes.

With a stationary population the need was still for more, roomier and healthier houses. Fifteen years of building, largely by local authorities but also by state-aided private enterprise, had produced 165,000 new houses by the end of 1933. Of these the vast majority came under housing schemes, not slum clearances, though, of course, the indirect relief to the congested areas was considerable. There were, in 1931, 127 persons in Scotland to each 100 rooms, compared to 145 persons in 1911. The proportion of the population living in one-roomed houses dropped from 8·7 to 7·1 per cent.; also, for the first time, there was a considerable decrease for the two-roomed houses, from 40·9 to 36·9 per cent. The trend was heavily towards three-, four-, and five-roomed houses, less markedly towards six-, seven-, and eight-roomed dwellings, and definitely away from both the very small homes (one or two rooms) and the very large ones (nine rooms and upwards). The changes were all for the better, though the gap between English and Scottish conditions remained deplorably wide. In January, 1934, representatives of local authorities admitted to the Secretary of State for Scotland that 51,000 houses were urgently required to replace dwellings "unfit for human habitation." There was still a world of difference between well-housed places—small semi-rural or seaside burghs—and the towns and villages of the industrial belt. For example, each inhabitant of Elie and Earlsferry

(with the best average of all Scottish towns), of Newport, Kingussie, or Fortrose, had over three times as many rooms as were available for each person living in Armadale, Coatbridge, Motherwell and Wishaw, or Port Glasgow. The difference applied to whole counties: the people of West Lothian had only half the proportionate accommodation enjoyed by those of Bute, Kircudbright, Nairn, or Sutherland.

Public health services—free hospitals, maternity and child welfare centres, and national health insurance—did much to improve the general standard of physical well-being. The vital statistics of the post-War years accordingly established many new low records. The death-rate per thousand fell from 17 in the pre-War period until it became fairly constant at just over 13 throughout the early 1930's, and infantile mortality was at its lowest (79 per thousand births) in 1923 and its second lowest (81) in 1933. The terrible toll of the highly infectious diseases was now a thing of the past (Glasgow had one death from typhus in 1931, none in 1932 or 1933), and about half of the deaths were due to heart disease, cancer, cerebral hæmorrhage, apoplexy, pneumonia and tuberculosis. The nation's relatively clean bill of health was gratifying in view of the prolonged industrial depression. Not that conditions were nearly as good as they might be. Even in slum clearance schemes the re-housed tenants were apt to take their slum habits with them. The report of a medical survey of a group of Glasgow's unfortunate poor, issued in February, 1934, suggested that the continued prevalence of respiratory diseases among those who were better housed than formerly was to be attributed largely to unhealthy sleeping conditions and unnecessarily over-crowded bedrooms. Dietary deficiencies—in fresh vegetables and fruit, in meat, fish and cheese—and excesses—in bread, tea, jam and margarine—were mostly habitual to the whole nation, so that they could hardly be held to the particular discredit of its poorest members. As regards general living conditions, however, it appeared that at least

one generation of happier surroundings would be required to eradicate the virus of the slums from the blood of the people.

The genesis of the slum problem for Scotland lay, as we have seen, in the callous and greedy labour policy of the industrialists, especially during the hungry 'forties, when shiploads of needy Irishmen were enticed over to compete with the Scottish peasants. Both were useful to the masters as a lever for lowering wages. Crowded together in squalid hovels, ready to undertake any manual labour, perpetually living on the brink of starvation and in the midst of disease, and only partially blending with the native stock, the Irish in Scotland remained a race apart, inured to poverty and degradation. In more recent times the exodus from Ireland to Scotland has fortunately been much less serious. During the twentieth century the number of Irish-born people has steadily declined and since 1921 there have been more English-born residents than Irish. In 1931 over half of the Irish-born inhabitants were 50 years of age or older ; what is more surprising, upwards of half of them came from Northern Ireland. The earlier immigrants, however, like the rest of the Scottish population, multiplied, despite the appalling death-rate, and it is notoriously their descendants who form a very large section of the lowest stratum of Scottish society. The vast majority of the 607,000 Roman Catholics in the country are of Irish descent, and their presence constitutes the main sociological problem of modern Scotland. A lurid side-light was thrown on that problem by the Secretary of State for Scotland in Parliament on December 11, 1933, when he revealed the fact that slightly more than one-quarter of the prisoners and inmates of Borstal institutions were Roman Catholics. Since these number only one-eighth of the population, the inference that their criminality is twice the normal rate is unavoidable. Only an unremitting campaign for better education, health and housing, spread over decades, perhaps generations, will serve to elevate this alien element and

make it anything but a discredit and a reproach to right-thinking Scotsmen.

If the State's efforts in health and housing represent a good start in the right direction, social conditions have also improved in a number of other ways. Food is more varied, fresh fruit coming into its own, and milk infinitely cleaner than formerly. Bare-feet are rarely seen on the streets, and the once-ubiquitous shawl has yielded place to the hat. The provision of cheap road transport, by private car, motor-bus, charabanc and taxi-cab, has increased enormously the mobility of all classes, whilst in the cinema, easily the most popular form of indoor entertainment, only ignorant scoffers and moribund recluses will nowadays find a necessarily degrading influence—to the great majority it is something of an education as well as an amusement. Nor does it stand alone: working-girls as well as men find time for tennis and golf, for concerts, plays and dances, while the doubling of wages during the past half-century has enabled most of them also to find the money. The fact that there are many valid uses to which leisure hours may be devoted has had much to do with the diminution of alcoholic excess in Scotland, though the exorbitant excise duty on spirits has also had a potent effect. However one may explain it, one of the leading characteristics of the post-War period has been the growing tendency towards moderation in the nation's drinking habits; from 1924 to 1932 every year witnessed a reduction in the number of persons convicted of offences involving drunkenness, and the improvement over those eight years was one of 30 per cent.

In the matter of building up a better environment for the people, much interest was focussed on the possibilities of land settlement as a permanent relief for unemployment and over-urbanization. The "back to the land" movement received an impetus from the Small Landholders Act of 1911 and subsequent statutes. Local authorities and voluntary organizations assisted unemployed and others to take up "allotment

gardens" for spare-time work, but the more ambitious schemes of the Scottish Department of Agriculture aimed at transferring men to whole-time farming. In twenty years over 6,000 applicants were settled on farms averaging ten acres in size or had their holdings enlarged, and there remained in 1933 some 8,000 outstanding applications. Family farms, market-gardens, pig and poultry units, and small mixed farms for unemployed miners all came under these schemes; late in 1933 the Department announced the intention of settling 1,000 applicants during three years on holdings of from five to nine acres. It was officially admitted that the demand for holdings was genuine and the success already achieved considerable. The chief deterrent was cost, for the initial outlay per holding varied between £600 and £2,000, but, since these were revenue-producing investments, there was everything to be said for pushing on with the work as long as suitable land, sufficient funds, and willing and capable settlers were available. In view of these limiting conditions, however, it seemed that the ideal of subsistence-farming, in a world of large-scale scientific agriculture, could be only a minor contribution towards the solution of the unemployment problem.

The outdoor life as a means of health-giving enjoyment has affected thousands in recent years, where land-settlement has attracted tens. The youth of the nation, of all classes and both sexes, as well as many not so youthful, have taken advantage of the great development of transport facilities and have found in motoring, cycling, camping and "hiking" valuable correctives to their normal routine of activities in crowded towns and cities. Inspired by these movements, some of the more ardent nationalists have questioned the present uses to which Highland scenery is put; where there should be national parks open to all, they see only the deer-forests and grouse-moors of native and foreign plutocrats, and, when their thoughts turn to Switzerland's profitable "visitor industry" or America's vast public playgrounds, the

contrast with Scotland seems painful and shocking. Ideally the criticism is a just one, but it is doubtful if there is any widespread desire for Highland parks; the more pressing need is for ready outlets to the congested industrial areas and more especially to Glasgow, with nearly one-fourth of the entire population. That much useful work of this kind has already been accomplished, largely through the agency of sundry far from spectacular pedestrian clubs, might well escape the notice of Scottish publicists normally resident in London and writing bitterly of Scotland's ills, but anyone familiar with realities knows that many miles of paths and rights-of-way have been laid down or made good near our important cities (a much-needed reversal of the notorious alienations of common lands in earlier years). These amenities, moreover, are in fact enjoyed to the full almost every week-end, especially during the summer months. A visit, for example, to the delightful criss-cross of paths lying between Milngavie, Mugdock, Carveth and Blanefield shows that, within a few miles of the city limits, the Glaswegian can and does use and appreciate some of the finest and most characteristic of Scottish scenery.

Another very significant sociological fact has already been touched upon: the problems of a rapidly expanding "proletariat" seem to belong to Scotland's past. For over twenty years there has been little change in the total population, the outward balance of migration checking the natural increase of the people, which, in any case, has been slowed down, since, along with the decline in the death rate, there has been an even more striking fall in the birth rate. The three years 1931, 1932 and 1933, successively returned new low records of 19.0, 18.6, and 17.6 per thousand living. Anyone with an enlightened interest in the nation's welfare will welcome the approach to stability which these figures portend, since they mean that our grave social problems are not getting out of hand, as they did in the nineteenth century, before proper remedies can be devised. Any rational measure which assists the

beneficent process should be furthered manfully, and, without broaching the controversial topic of sterilization of the unfit, one may express the hope that before long obscurantist and clerical opposition to reasonable methods of birth-control will be eliminated or, at least, rendered nugatory.

The economic future of Scotland is an unknown quantity. We are in the midst of a stage of transition, and later generations may look back to the year 1931 as being, like 1776 and 1861, one of the great turning-points in industrial development. 1776 marked the change from tobacco-shipping to cotton and the other textiles, 1861 from cotton to the metallurgical group; 1931 saw the disappearance of unrestricted private trading, the inception of State planning, control and protection, and probably also the end of the long predominance of the heavy industries; whatever political changes the future may bring, a simple return to the conditions of the 1920's seems unthinkable. Not that the coal, iron and steel industries will be completely dispersed; textiles lived on in specialized branches after the American Civil War, and the great tobacco re-exporting trade of early times is represented to-day by some small manufacturing concerns in the West of Scotland. But it is impossible to imagine coal, in this era of increased *per capita* output, of electrical coal-cutters and mechanical conveyors, re-absorbing all the workers already laid aside, and it is no secret that many of the 77 blast furnaces (still using much foreign ore) will never be relit. As for ship-building, the world is clearly over-stocked for present requirement with some 63 million tons, one-sixth of which lies idle, and, whilst a general trade recovery and a speedier scrapping of the many obsolete ships would annul the excess of supply over demand and lead to much new building, it is certain that Britain will not recapture its former long lead. The American, French, German, Dutch, Italian and Japanese shipyards, expanded during and after the War, have proved themselves permanent and vigorous rivals, as ready as

Clydeside, Wallsend, or Belfast, to take advantage of the up-swing. In all branches rationalization and reorganization imply contraction through the scrapping of old plant and the increased efficiency of new methods; hence, though the larger, newer and more profitable of the coal mines, blast furnaces, foundries, steel works and shipyards, grouped in great combines, will survive, since the tradition of skilled work and the needs of the home market are solid realities, they will not again be the nation's economic mainstay, employing one-fourth of the workers.

A resurgence in textiles, in which cut-throat competition is everywhere apparent, is not likely; the best assurance for the future seems to lie with the thread and woollen branches, where the good name of certain Scottish products at home and abroad is a valuable asset, and with jute, the universal carrier, and bound to be in demand whenever commerce improves. Agriculture, having declined in relative importance continuously between the Union and the Great War, has achieved something like stability; having given real employment to more people during 1932 and 1933 than any other industry, it may fairly claim to be once again the primary economic interest of the nation. Points operating in its favour and tending to arrest any further decline are the uniformly higher yield per acre in Scotland than in England, the country's great reputation for stock-breeding, and the opportunities offered in the domestic market to successful dairy-farming. If increased mechanization may further diminish the need for man-power, increased land settlement and subsistence farming may well restore the balance, and, in any case, agriculture is going to command more attentive interest, more State encouragement, in the future than it received in the past.

The figures already quoted show that one nineteenth-century trend has been accelerated rather than checked since the War—the movement towards "sheltered" occupations of all kinds. The increase under "Commerce and Finance" consists mainly of a great variety

of shopkeepers catering to the people's improved tastes and higher standards; all the distributive trades benefit from modern developments like house-to-house canvassing, instalment purchases and "Ideal Home" exhibitions, and from modern processes such as the canning of foods, the bottling of milk, and the wrapping of bread and biscuits; more builders are needed to meet the re-housing needs of the modern age; the extension of social services means the employment by local authorities of more teachers, tramwaymen, clerks and other workers; with the more equitable distribution of wealth, greater numbers can afford the luxury of domestic servants; and the scope of all the professions extends with developing civilization. The transference of numbers of people from the hard toil of factories, mills, furnaces and mines, to less exacting or more varied work in shops, offices, houses, or elsewhere, is therefore a characteristic of the present, as, apparently, it will be of the future—machines taking the place of manual labour, though not, in the long run, of other forms of labour.

To what extent the Scottish nation will be able to dispense with basic industries, without being reduced to the proverbial humiliation of living by "taking in each other's washing," is a question which receives point from the first-fruits of the tariff policy. During 1932 and 1933 the industries which felt immediate benefits were those producing consumers' goods, often of a luxury type, like motor-cars, musical instruments, electrical appliances, foodstuffs, clothing and chemicals—industries associated with the Midlands of England rather than with any other district. Scotland, more interested in capital goods and the export trade, did not receive very considerable help. Not only so, but when foreign firms found it necessary to establish factories in Britain they were irresistibly attracted by the idea of proximity to London, with its many millions of potential customers and its unrivalled facilities in finance, insurance and transportation. The consequent close connection of the newer industries with the

London area and the English Midlands, at a time of acute depression for the basic manufactures of Scotland, the North and Wales, is the only truth that resides in the much-publicized phrase "the southward drift of industry": Scotland's industries were not migrating, they were contracting, and the newer branches, through no fault of hers, were growing up elsewhere. It is true that rationalization, in a few isolated cases, has had immediate effects in reducing employment in Scotland, for example, in the cyanide industry and in the manufacture of rolling-stock, but it has also had a contrary result, as in the thread business, and there is no evidence of any serious adverse balance, whilst the increased efficiency must lead in the long run to an all-round improvement.

A general recovery in world trade will therefore find Scotland prepared to participate. Scientific research and inventiveness are not on the wane, the country offers some special facilities, such as the convenience of the western seaports for the Canadian trade and their close traditional relations with the overseas dominions, and labour unrest around Glasgow, despite persistent statements to the contrary, is not excessive—out of 213 major industrial disputes of the four years 1927-30, only sixteen occurred in the West of Scotland. There is, therefore, little or no danger of the extinction of Scotland's great traditional manufactures. On the other hand, the consolidation of firms, rationalization of production, increasing use of labour-saving devices, and scrapping of antiquated plant, though they will have to overcome either the conventional individualism of industrialists or the intransigent collectivism of trades unions, are all inevitable, if Scotland is to survive in the economic sense; indeed, much is already being done or planned along these lines. All this means contraction of employment as far as concerns basic manual labour. Thus the prospects are that, when and if recovery is an accomplished fact, there will be much less employment in the heavy industries, probably rather less in textiles,

and something like stability in agriculture. As for the newer industries, the backward state of electrical manufactures, and the fact that Scotland has only one important motor-car firm, and that engaged in the production of commercial and not private vehicles, are poor auguries ; and, though there may well be a great future for branches like hydro-electric energy and oil-from-coal, present indications do not suggest any considerable expansion along new lines for some time to come.

On the whole, it seems that basic industry, as a factor in employment, will count for much less in Scotland in the middle period of the twentieth century than it did at its commencement. Distributive, derivative and "sheltered" trades may continue to expand without creating a lop-sided structure, an unworkable system, provided that political and social policy are shaped with reference to the realities of the changed position, and especially to the diminishing need for wage-earning workers in factories and mines. Some reforms are so obviously in line with the needs of the new age, as well as wholly desirable on their own merits, that further delay in prosecuting them would be short-sighted and impolitic, if not positively dangerous ; among them are the advancement of the school-leaving age, at least to sixteen, the retiral at sixty of all insured workers (a term which must be equated to the wage-earning population), and the undertaking of a truly comprehensive rehousing programme, designed to eliminate, for all time and at all costs, the disgraceful conditions still existing. It will be noticed that the cultural and humanitarian arguments are, in these matters, even more compelling than those of a purely economic nature, and it may be that the more pressing problems of the next generation will be social rather than industrial. We in Scotland, as elsewhere, are still far from realizing the ideal enshrined in the phrase "social services," which now connote, in practice, the semi-charitable relief of destitution and the provision of some of life's necessities and simpler luxuries

to those temporarily unable to pay for them, instead of the voluntary pooling and re-distribution of the nation's resources, mental, moral, and material. But, during a century of commercial rivalry and class hatreds, of inhuman exploitation, irresponsible profiteering and enforced degradation, we have been groping and fumbling on our way towards an end and aim which should not always prove unattainable and should engage the whole-hearted interest of all enlightened citizens—the transformation of the State from an imperfect machine for performing some of the rudimentary functions of public alms-giving into an ever-watchful and infallible device for ensuring the well-being, comfort and happiness of the humblest inhabitant of the country.

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGION

AN integral part of the Union of 1707 was the special Act securing the status of the Church of Scotland. It is, indeed, beyond doubt that one of the great obstacles to agreement arose from the almost instinctive, widespread distrust of a closer association with a people firmly attached to such a generally unpopular ecclesiastical system as Episcopacy. All talk of union would therefore have been futile without an explicit guarantee of the maintenance of Presbyterianism. We have seen that the agreement raised a nice constitutional point, since the concept of an unalterable law was alien to the English idea of Parliament's omnicompetence, and it was unthinkable that this ultimate sovereignty should be impaired as a result of the Union. Fortunately, the point was purely academic, and Scotland's fears were disarmed by England's pledged word.

The Kirk of the Revolution, thus declared inviolable by statute, was not quite identical with the Covenanted Kirk, nor with that of the Melvillian era, though the differences did not affect fundamentals. Its dogmatic creed was the Westminster Confession, its administration was in its own hands and its courts were the familiar general assembly, synod, presbytery and kirk session, with presbyteries empowered by the Barrier Act to delay or veto new legislative proposals. It need not, however, expect as much State interference as in the past, nor, *per contra*, could it look for the same amount of State help as it had once regarded as its due. Thus, on the one hand, lay patronage had given way to popular election (heritors and elders presenting, congregation "calling," presbytery standing by as

referee) ; and, on the other, the Covenants had been quietly dropped. The Kirk, in fact, represented a common-sense compromise between the people's wishes and the lessons of the past, between the pretensions of the "high-flyers" and the more tolerant, more secular spirit of the age. As such it was undoubtedly congenial to the great majority of the nation, and the assertion sometimes made, that one-half, or even more, of the population were Episcopalian at the time of the Union, can only be accepted in a very limited and distorted sense. Ministers could not be immediately supplied to all parts of the country, generations of Stewart autocracy had accustomed many districts to Episcopacy (Aberdeenshire was notoriously "difficult") and the influence of the aristocracy, which naturally gravitated towards that system, counted for much ; but in genuine public support and favour it was no real rival to the Establishment. Much lower in general esteem stood the Roman Catholics, proscribed and debarred, not only from the open exercise of their devotions, but also from the ordinary rights of citizenship. As against both Episcopalians and Romanists, the Presbyterians hoped and fully expected to be sustained and championed by the united Parliament.

These hopes were very soon dashed, and the story of the Kirk's betrayal is too familiar to call for detailed reiteration. The case for the prosecution is simple, straightforward and at first glance damning. In the year 1712 the Parliament of Great Britain, which had already, over the Greenshields case, shown itself unsympathetic to Scottish prejudices and willing to strain the terms of Union, further offended popular sentiment by restoring the Christmas vacation in the law courts, granting toleration to loyal Episcopalian clergymen and giving back to patrons their forfeited rights of presentation. The first point may be dismissed as trivial, the second accorded with the dictates of human kindness, but the third was surely a deliberate breach of the letter and the spirit of the Union. All three were conceived in pure malice against the

laws and customs of the Kirk, and the restoration of patronage, in the teeth of the Assembly's protest, renewed annually over a period of 72 years, caused irreparable damage, since it was the direct cause of, and the main point at issue in, the three chief ecclesiastical splits—the Original Secession of 1733, the formation of the Relief Church in 1761, and the great Disruption of 1843. Not till 1874 was the mischief-making statute annulled, and no argument as to the likelihood of cultured and educated patrons presenting equally desirable ministers can alter the facts that to large numbers the system was odious, that it perpetuated ecclesiastical disputes long after they should have disappeared, and that it entailed untold loss and misdirection of the nation's spiritual energies. Parliament and patronage were at the root of the whole trouble, and English Whigs must share responsibility with Tories, the latter for passing the measure, the former for failing to repeal it when they had the power.

That is the prosecution's case, but it is far from telling the whole truth. Many forces within Presbyterian Scotland were essentially of a divisive nature and assisted materially in the dire work of the patronage disputes. In the first place there were the Cameronians, lineal descendants of the men to whom the Covenants were sacrosanct and all-important; they abjured the Kirk of the Revolution as uncovenanted and Laodicean, and maintained a rather precarious existence until, in 1743, they were reorganized as the Reformed Presbytery, claiming to represent the Kirk of Knox, Melville and Henderson. Thus, not all Presbyterians agreed, even before patronage was re-enacted. Next we must note that during two decades patronage was not a great issue or a major evil; it was not till 1732, when the Assembly itself, by ordering a return to the old method of popular election only when a patron failed to present, gave a sort of implicit recognition to the system, that trouble became serious. Hence it appears that there were those within the Church, *not* the creatures of patrons (there were not enough of them by 1732), who

were willing to temporize. Moreover, the earliest Seceders' "Judicial Testimony" of 1736 is an illuminating document, which notes many objectionable features of the Kirk besides patronage—the dropping of the Covenants, the shamelessly secular Union with England, the toleration of Episcopacy and even of error within the fold, and the failure to suppress witchcraft. Clearly there was no room within a tolerant Church of Scotland in the eighteenth century for such bigoted followers of the Word, who themselves afforded the most striking evidence as to their character within seven years of the final breach with the Kirk, when they split into two not unequal sections over a question wholly unconnected with patronage—could a seceder swear by "the true religion presently professed"? The very fact of the cleavage between Burgher and Anti-Burgher points to the inevitability of religious strife in Scotland. Finally, with the triumph of Moderatism in the middle years of the century, ministers themselves came to regard patronage as essential to good order, as one may realize by contrasting the Assembly's summary proceedings against the quite fair-minded founders of the Presbytery of Relief with the dilatory and soft-hearted attitude adopted only twenty years before towards the turbulent schismatics of the first Secession.

Moderate opinion dominated the Church of Scotland during the third quarter of the century, which almost coincided with Principal Robertson's period of leadership, and at this time the divergent tendencies between the two main schools of Presbyterian thought appeared very clearly. Members of the "Popular" party found themselves in opposition to the leaders on many points and were forced to choose between remaining an impotent minority and joining the Seceders. Between the two parties lay a world of difference, and some of the controversial issues were just as acute and inflammatory as patronage—for example, the propriety of tolerating, or even countenancing by attendance, dramatic performances, a problem which gave rise to heated debates in 1756, when Home's *Douglas* was staged; or, again,

the question of suspending the penal laws against Roman Catholics, which was vetoed for the time by the mob riots of 1779. Compromise had often to be resorted to in settling problems of this kind, since there were many different shades of opinion and the extreme Evangelicals were matched by extreme Moderates of a more "lukewarm" and less orthodox stamp than Principal Robertson; but sometimes a clear-cut party vote stressed the conflicting aims of the two groups, as in the Assembly's decision of 1784 to drop the perennial and now largely formal protest against patronage.

All this points to an inescapable conclusion. Whilst the restoration of patronage was an unwarrantable breach of the Union and a prime cause of ecclesiastical strife, there were deeper, more fundamental differences which merely found an outlet in the patronage quarrel and which, in the circumstances of the time and regardless of parliamentary statutes, predestined the Church to disruption. The Kirk of the Revolution, itself a compromise between the spirit of the Covenants and that of a more secular common sense, was faced during the eighteenth century by new and changing conditions, and, if it were to continue to stand for the spiritual life of the whole nation, it must respond with a new attitude and fresh values. As early as 1720, in the controversy over *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, an English Puritan treatise resuscitated by a group of ministers, some of whom were afterwards prominent in the Original Secession, we find the Kirk tacitly recognizing the march of time and the need for modifying its standards by repudiating the book, though with the mildest of rebukes for its sponsors. Diametrically opposite ideas informed the teachings of Professor Simson at Glasgow, which were eventually discontinued by order of the Assembly in 1729, as constituting a departure from orthodox theology. Thus the Church had all along to pick its way between conservatism and change.

After 1750 members of the Moderate party were

closely associated with the reorganization of the universities, the Scottish philosophy and the literary revival, so that the Kirk came to play a big part in the general cultural renaissance. While to many this seemed a creditable performance, there were others to whom it savoured of trafficking in worldly concerns, and for them some such safety-valve as was provided by the Secession and Relief Churches was urgently required. Thus it came to pass that by no means all the dissenting congregations were formed as a result of patronage quarrels and separations; local discontent with "advanced" views from the pulpit often led to an invitation to one of the seceding bodies to supply a rival and more congenial pastor, who became the nucleus of a new flock. The growth of dissent was rapid. Within four years of its formation the Associate Presbytery became the Associate Synod; twenty years later there were well over one hundred non-established Presbyterian congregations; by the close of the century the Secession claimed 110,000 members, evenly distributed between Burgher and Anti-Burgher sections, the Relief Church, 36,000, and the Reformed Presbyterians, 4,000. These 150,000 dissenters were drawn from an adult population of about one million, which included Catholics, Episcopalians and—notoriously—city dwellers untouched by organized religion, as well as Presbyterians, so that it appears that the Kirk had lost to dissent something like one-third of its membership.

For both the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic Churches it was an unhappy time, though, in the case of the former, the closing years of Anne's reign had promised better things, with the favourable judgment in the Greenshields trial and the Act of Toleration, which permitted its pastors to hold services, provided they took the oath of allegiance to the State. The active part played in the 'Fifteen by several clergymen, however, told against the whole Church, and it became an oppressed, unpopular minority. Its troubles were accentuated by doctrinal differences, some adopting, others opposing, certain "usages" or innovations with

a tendency towards ritualism and away from the standards held in common with the Presbyterians. The Usagers won the day, with the ultimate result that the Scots Episcopalians, after accepting the English Prayer Book, became noted for a "higher" tone than the Anglicans. Their incurable Jacobitism made things worse for them, since the powerful Church of England would not intervene on their behalf after the 'Forty-five and Parliament decreed that their clergymen could only be ordained by an Anglican bishop. The reign of Moderatism, with genuine tolerance in the forefront of its ideology, augured well for them, and the death of Prince Charles in 1788, by destroying Jacobitism as an incentive to rebellion, removed the political stigma which had lain upon them. Four years later, accordingly, their civil rights were restored, and they continued to play a very limited but free and respectable part in the national life.

The Romanists' lot was harder and for them relief was slower in coming. Unlike the Episcopalians, they had been mostly denied the dubious benefits of Stewart patronage, and a century and a half of fear and loathing had served to identify them, in the average Scotsman's mind, with foreign, subversive and darkly malignant forces. This general detestation was deepened by the fact that, apart from a few noblemen and many clan chiefs, they were largely confined to remote, little known and not very civilized areas like Western Inverness-shire and Dumfriesshire. Indeed, much of the effort of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was directed towards the evangelization of Highland districts where a debased form of Catholicism had been the only variety of Christianity. Openly Jacobite, the Papists could not look for toleration, and, as with others, their troubles were intensified by internal politico-religious differences. They made very little progress during the century, their numbers remaining around 20,000. It is true that a group of Moderates, led by Principal Robertson, braved public disapproval by advocating a more lenient attitude, but

the Glasgow and Edinburgh riots of 1779 quashed the proposal. And yet it was at the height of the French Revolution scare that the Government came to the aid of Romanist priests with an annual money-grant; though it was not until the opening of the great reform era that the Catholic Emancipation Act brought the restitution of civil rights.

The nineteenth century was an era of apparent contradictions—minor schisms of the usual kind followed and accompanied by a series of reunions among the smaller sects, and the greatest Disruption of all time serving as a sort of prelude to really important reunions. Behind the controversies and realignments of the Churches lay the problem which was inherent in the Presbyterian thesis of the State establishment of religion, the problem of the powers of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs—was the Kirk's jurisdiction supreme within its own self-determined sphere, or was it subject to review by a secular authority in so far as it touched on secular matters? This problem had been shelved during the reign of the Moderates, who had thereby purchased peace at a price, but there was no guarantee that it would not re-emerge in a form that might demand a final solution. If the Kirk looked to the law-courts for recognition and protection, it must abide by the whole corpus of statute-law, including patronage; but this was just what many of the clergy and laity loathed doing, and the accession of these people to power must spell further trouble. But it was not the Kirk alone that was affected. The seceding bodies, each regarding itself as the true Establishment, temporarily estranged from a mismanaged State, found complete detachment from secular affairs impossible, and, even when they embraced the "voluntary" principle and learned to rely on their own resources, they discovered that, as propertied associations, they were still liable to civil jurisdiction.

The re-emergence of the patronage issue is closely related to the movement for political and social reform;

the Evangelical party rose to power in the Kirk as the Whigs did in the State, and in both spheres the champions of liberty sought to correct grievances and remedy defects. The Evangelicals got control of the Church during the 'thirties and started at once to revivify religion. Their ultimate aim—that of making the Church a living force in the life of the nation—was the same as that of the contemporary Oxford Movement in England, though their ideas were, of course, utterly different. They raised funds in order to provide more parish schools, they pushed forward with the work of building *quoad sacra* parishes in the newer communities, they made strenuous though uneven efforts to supplement the unsatisfactory results of the existing Poor Law, and they adopted projects for foreign missions, which had been cold-shouldered by the General Assembly in the last years of the eighteenth century. It was inevitable that the Kirk, conscious of its new-found vitality, would question the justice of its complete subordination to the State, for not only were the Evangelicals in a majority, they included the more competent as well as the more zealous of the ministers, and were led by men like Chalmers, Welsh, Candlish and Cunningham, who far excelled the Moderates in learning, ability and fervour.

The "Ten Years' Conflict" opened in 1833 and was distinguished throughout by eloquent pleadings and noble self-sacrifice, though it was marred too by much bitter recrimination and not a little self-righteousness. It engaged the impassioned interest and partisanship of our grandfathers, and involved a depth of feeling which is sometimes perplexing to our less theologically-minded generation, who have witnessed the healing of the breach. The new spirit of ecclesiastical restiveness found expression in the Assembly's legislation of 1834, which constituted a direct challenge to the claims of the State. The Veto Act affirmed the congregation's right by direct vote to refuse "without reasons" a patron's presentee; this was a revolutionary interpretation of the Act of Patronage, whereby, according to

long-established usage, the presbytery merely tried the life and doctrine of the presentee, the congregation's "call" being more or less a matter of form. The Chapel Act, by asserting the Kirk's right to admit as parish ministers the incumbents of the new *quoad sacra* parishes, claimed for it the power of modifying its own constitution. In the course of the struggle both Acts were declared to be beyond the competence of the Kirk and incompatible with the law of the land. The Assembly's stand on patronage was bound to lead to controversy and litigation, as soon as a veto sufficiently displeased a patron to induce him to take the case to law. The classic cases were provided by the presbyteries of Auchterarder and Strathbogie. The former attempted to implement a congregational veto and so make ecclesiastical authority effective, whilst the latter decided by a majority to over-ride a veto in obedience to a judicial verdict, a dissenting minority championing the Kirk's view and claiming to be the true presbytery.

The Whig ministries of the 'thirties were far from being sympathetic to the Evangelicals' demands, but Peel's electoral triumph in 1841 portended open hostility from the Government. The Assembly of the following year resolved to continue the fight and asserted the Kirk's spiritual independence at great length, in the Claim of Right. The majority would not listen to talk of compromise, and, faced by a similarly intransigent Government, they found no alternative to secession. The Disruption came in May, 1843, when, amid scenes of enthusiasm recalling Covenanting times, the Free Church was born; although, when it actually came to sundering connection with the Establishment, instead of a majority of the ministers (who, with the *quoad sacra* pastors, numbered over 1,200), only 451 walked out of the Kirk.

The seceding churches in the meantime were undergoing many changes. At the close of the eighteenth century, and the start of the nineteenth, both branches of the Original Secession were split by a controversy over the "New Light," whereby many ministers

became convinced that there was an Erastian fallacy in the old Presbyterian thesis that it was the duty of the civil magistrate to uphold the true faith. The New Light had come to them through their experience of the success of "voluntary" religion, which at length persuaded them that a State connection was no more necessary in theory for the spiritual well-being of a church than it was in fact for its material prosperity. It was a radical change (though it was not to be the last of its kind), and yet the New Lights found themselves in a majority in both Burgher and Anti-Burgher synods. In both, however, a recalcitrant minority refused to depart from the Establishment principle, and these "Auld Lichts" seceded in each case to form independent sects. This fourfold schism within a schism looks like the ultimate in fatuous quibbling, and yet it reveals most of the seceders as practical men, moving with the times, and before long the new controversy actually outmoded the burghs-oath as a divisive issue and so paved the way for a new series of cross-unions. In 1820 most of the two majority groups, the New Lights, came together to form the United Secession Church, a really strong body with over 250 ministers; openly disestablishmentarian, it at once became the leader of Presbyterian dissent, and won the whole-hearted devotion of a rapidly expanding membership. In 1847 it was joined by the Relief Church, which had about 100 congregations. The United Presbyterian Church emerged as the champion of Voluntarism. With some 500 congregations, it was roughly equal in size to the Free Church at its inception and about half as strong as the Church of Scotland.

The Auld Lichts were opposed to "voluntary" ideas; they clung to the original principle of an Establishment, but looked on the existing Church as vitiated by patronage and other abuses. In their own eyes they *were* the true Church, sundered for the time from the necessary State connection by secular misunderstanding and error. Now, the Evangelical tone

of the Kirk in the last phase of the Ten Years' Conflict, especially in the strong stand against patronage, came near to expressing their own ethos; still more to their liking, immediately after the Disruption, was the Free Church's devotion to the ideal of a purified Establishment. During and after their own reunions, many of them therefore joined the Kirk in 1839 and still more came into the Free Church in 1852. Later on, in 1876, a majority of the Reformed Presbyterians threw in their lot with the same Church. These accessions of strength, from the Auld Lights and Cameronians respectively, helped materially in the great expansion of the Free Church during that half-century. It should be added, however, that there were dissentient minorities of both the 1852 and 1876 unions, which continued, and still continue to this day, the name and independent existence of their parent-bodies, the United Original Secession and the Reformed Presbyterians. Barring these two remnants, then, the whole mass of Scots Presbyterianism was during this period drawn into three large communities, the Establishment, the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church, separated from each other not by doctrinal differences, but by their varying attitudes towards the State connection, ideal and actual.

As the century wore on there was a notable lessening of bitterness in the relations of the main Churches, and all three began to adopt ideas of tolerance, humanity and kindness, more in keeping with the precepts of philosophy, science and life, as well as with the essence of their Founder's teachings. To some extent this involved a departure from the rigid tenets and harsh discipline of earlier Calvinism, and each of the three found it necessary, explicitly or by silent change, to re-affirm its distinctive "testimony." Within the Establishment the old Sabbatarianism was gradually abandoned, though not without protestations against back-sliding, the chief advocate of more rational conduct being Dr. Norman Macleod of Glasgow. About the same time—during the 'sixties—a new era for

Presbyterian worship dawned through the introduction of the organ and the use of a prayer-book by Dr. Robert Lee of Edinburgh. Slowly, too, there grew up a changed feeling towards the Confession of Faith, which, though drawn up by a body of fallible men at the Westminster Assembly, had come to be accepted as an almost inspired and definitely incontrovertible doctrinal standard. At length, in 1905, Parliament empowered the Church to settle its own formula, with the result that a much looser and more general declaration of belief was exacted from ministers.

Similar developments occurred in the United Presbyterian and Free Churches, which, in 1879 and 1892 respectively, passed declaratory acts re-defining the Calvinistic system in the light of more modern ideas. The second of these declarations gave offence to a conservative minority of Highland congregations, which seceded to form the Free Presbyterian Church, professing fidelity to the aims of the Disruption. And it was the Free Church that provided perhaps the most remarkable expression of the changes in Scots Presbyterianism, through the medium of the last of the heresy trials. Since the days of Simson the most prominent divine whose utterances had seemed to conflict with orthodoxy was John McLeod Campbell of Row, who had been deposed by the Kirk in 1831, at the time when Evangelicalism was coming to the front. Many churchmen lived to regret the sentence, for in the next generation there was a growing tendency to reconsider the old belief in the literal inspiration of the whole scriptures. In the late 'seventies Professor Robertson Smith, a clergyman of great culture and ability, both in his writings and his teachings inculcated the need for a more realistic and historical view of the Bible. He aroused the resentment of conservative colleagues in the Free Church, but his significance lies not in his trial and condemnation, but in his influence on his contemporaries and his students. Before very long his method of examining the subject became, if not the rule, at least a very common practice among ministers

and laymen of all the Presbyterian denominations. It is not too much to acclaim him as the forerunner of twentieth-century Bible study in Scotland and as eloquent proof of the decay of rigid and conventional theology.

Changes of this sort were acceptable to the vast majority of all three Churches, and their almost identical responses to the demands of the new age showed them to be like-minded on essentials and divided only over details. The chances for reunion seemed good, and they were being made better with the improvement of relations with the State. Indeed, in the years 1843 and 1844, immediately after the Disruption, the Tory Government, as if at length convinced of the costliness of blunders, passed remedial legislation which would have gone far to satisfy the Evangelicals if it had come a few years earlier. (Not that it is right to blame the Tories alone for the split, even if they were far from helpful; the ministers' temper was such as to challenge any Government.) The Benefices Act, by authorizing Presbyteries to give due weight to valid objections to nominees, at least mitigated the grosser evils of patronage; and in the following year the Kirk was given the right to erect new or *quoad sacra* parishes. Paradoxically enough, it was not till another strong Conservative administration was in power that Liberal-voting Scotland was granted the concession steadily claimed by dissenters, who formed the backbone of the Liberal electorate; patronage was abolished by Disraeli in 1874, the right of electing ministers going to the communicants and adherents in each congregation.

By this time, however, the prospects for reunion had changed. In the early years many had looked forward to the speedy return of the Free Church members to the Church of Scotland, for they were agreed on the Establishment principle (which Dr. Chalmers regarded as a cardinal point of polity), and the State connection was obviously now functioning much more smoothly. But personal animosities and the bitter memories of the late conflict were serious obstacles to a rapprochement, and the Free Church went on its own way.

endeavouring, unlike earlier secessions, which had expanded only as opportunity offered, to cover the whole of Scotland with its network of parishes and so to reduplicate the Kirk's entire system. Its supreme court was thus no seceders' synod, but a General Assembly. Its members irritated those of the Establishment by their air of superior virtue and by the special contempt reserved for the Evangelicals who had not come out in 1843. Its popularity with the masses cannot be doubted, as witness its increase in ministers from 451 in 1843 to 1,106 in 1900. The very success of its appeal for voluntary support gradually sapped the reality of its belief in the Establishment principle (as had already happened to the New Lights of the Secession). Its sympathies turned rather toward the avowedly voluntary U.P. Church. Already before 1874 overtures for union had been made, and in that year the Free Church Assembly was prompt to repudiate even the now purified Establishment. The Kirk was eager to reopen negotiations, but during the 'eighties disestablishment was a favourite topic among dissenters, though Gladstone's indifference assured its ultimate shelving. The outcome of the proposals and refusals of the time was the amalgamation in 1900 of the two main seceding bodies, to form the United Free Church. The Free Church brought eleven hundred congregations, the U.P. six hundred; but, while the latter was unanimous, a small proportion of the former, still true to the "Auld Licht," stood out and formed an independent General Assembly of the Free Church.

There ensued a protracted dispute over the Church's property, terminated by the Lords' surprising though far from unreasonable verdict in favour of the "Wee Frees." For the majority the experience was a bitter lesson in the logic of facts. Despite their disavowal of all State connection, their possession of property had brought them within reach of the secular arm, since that disavowal, involving a radical change in their "testimony," had encountered hostility within the ranks, and, on behalf of those who, instead of changing

with the majority, resolved to abide by the old ideas, the State not only might but must intervene. In the long run little damage was done, since Parliament modified the practically absurd, if legally just, verdict, and an equitable division was ultimately made between the two unequal groups.

The non-Presbyterian Churches made considerable advance during the century, though they remained rather out of touch with the main current of the national life. Emancipation for Scottish Catholics, as for those of England, came in 1829, a generation later than for the Episcopalians. There was a greater difference in time between the diocesan organization, or re-organization, of the two communities; anti-Papal feeling was strong enough to cause the postponement of the still technically illegal reform until 1878. The Episcopal Church, which had once been akin to the Church of Scotland in doctrine and worship, adopted the Thirty-Nine Articles in 1804, but soon became definitely "higher" than the Church of England itself. It was thus out of touch with the mass of the people in most districts and failed to grow in proportion to the increase in the country's population, although it absorbed many of the English incomers and their descendants. The Roman Catholic Church expanded rapidly, but not by the conversion of native Scots. Wholesale immigration from Ireland set in early in the century, and before long the thirty thousand-odd Scots Catholics were swamped in numbers by their Irish co-religionists. In time Irishmen or men of Irish descent came to dominate the Church and, not without quarrels with their Scottish colleagues, to control the episcopate. Cut off by social differences, as well as by race and religion, from most Scotsmen, the Catholics of Scotland, though increasing in numbers perhaps twenty-fold within little more than a century, have formed a community apart from and alien to Scottish life and culture. Besides these two Churches, non-Presbyterian dissent of the English type increased slowly, through the settlement of English families in

Scotland for business, professional, or private reasons, and the eventual attraction of some Scotsmen to their Congregational, Baptist, or Methodist chapels.

At the opening of the twentieth century the U.F. Church, which actually had more congregations than the Church of Scotland, was strongly in favour of disestablishment, but towards the end of the first decade the possibility of reuniting the two great Presbyterian Churches began to be mooted. Committees to discuss ways and means were appointed in 1909, and they quickly agreed to rule out disestablishment as undesirable and unnecessary. A report of 1912 indicated the steps to be taken in the formulation of a plan of union, which should be presented for parliamentary ratification as a *fait accompli*. Actual constitution-making was in hand when the War interrupted and suspended the negotiations, which were resumed soon after the Armistice. The U.F. Church took serious objection to two points in the Kirk's polity, State control of spiritual matters and the teinds system, whereby ministers' salaries, being fixed in terms of the produce of the land, varied with the annual "fiars prices." The scrapping of these two traditional and characteristic features was no little sacrifice for the Kirk, but she was willing to make it in the interests of union. An Act of Parliament of 1921 accordingly gave her unfettered control of her own "doctrine, worship, government and discipline," and made her as free and autonomous as the rival Church; it was a gracious concession on the part of Parliament. The Church of Scotland (Property and Endowments) Act of 1925 removed the other difficulty by remodelling her financial structure in a manner pleasing to U.F. scruples. It was directed that teinds should be redeemed by the heritors through either lump-sum or instalment payments. All Church property and funds were placed at the disposal of a new body, the General Trustees of the Church, for allocation to her various activities. The road to union was thus made easy, and in 1929 the final step was taken, though, once

again, a minority remained out, this time under the name of the United Free Church (Continuing).

The Church of Scotland, reunited with majority groups representative of all the important secessions of the last two centuries, comes nearer to completely expressing Scottish Presbyterianism than it has done since the days before these secessions took place. Dissent is now confined to non-uniting remnants, whose membership and influence are very limited. The Kirk's real rivals are the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches, each of which has links with Scotland's past, and may claim descent from what was once "the Church of Scotland." Their part in the national life, however, has been small and their associations rather with alien cultures, the one through religious affinity, the other by reason of a largely foreign membership. Evangelical dissent is confined to a small section and movements like Christian Science and Unitarianism are almost negligible. In a real sense, therefore, the Kirk dominates the field of organized religion; the mathematical extent to which this is so is, in the absence of a religious census, hard to determine. Official statistics are not always available and, when they are, they do not constantly relate to the same thing. The Roman Catholic Church reckons the entire population of the faithful as her own; the Episcopal Church counts as members all who are confirmed, at an age of twelve to fourteen; for Presbyterians full membership is limited to adults and, in some districts, where the traditional warning anent worthily partaking of communion is still literally obeyed, to a chosen few of them. Since, in addition, there is no uniformity in the keeping of church rolls, figures must be taken as approximate and tentative.

The Church of Scotland has nearly 3,000 churches, over 3,000 ministers, and 1,280,000 communicants; if we add the young people who attend Bible Classes, Sunday Schools and kindred institutions and make an allowance for the infant population, its adherents must be reckoned as numbering about 2,100,000. Outside the

Establishment the largest of the Presbyterian bodies is probably the youngest of them, the U.F. Church (Continuing), with some 120 congregations, over 18,000 communicants, and perhaps 30,000 adherents of all ages. The Free Church has 171 congregations, but these are often small and are to be found mostly in the Highlands and the far North; its people, at a guess, may amount to 20,000, of whom half are full members. There are 61 congregations and stations of the Free Presbyterian Church, also largely a Highland sect, with possibly 3,000 communicants and 6,000 adherents. The Reformed Presbyterian Church has only eight congregations and it seems reasonable to assume that the adherent population does not exceed 1,000. With the United Original Secession Church we are on firmer ground, for its statistics show 21 places of worship, almost 3,000 communicants, and just over 5,000 adherents. The five non-established Churches are thus supported by some 62,000 people—well under one-thirtieth of the Kirk's numbers—and the total Presbyterian population is somewhere about 2,160,000.

The Episcopal Church of Scotland, with the fourteen old Scottish bishoprics re-grouped into seven composite sees, has just over 300 clergymen serving 417 congregations, about 60,000 communicants and 135,000 baptized persons of all ages. In the newly-united Methodist Church there are 65 congregations, over 12,000 members and many more than these not in full communion; say, 30,000 altogether. The Congregational Union of Scotland, with about 160 pastors and churches, claims a membership of almost 40,000, which argues an adherent population of perhaps 70,000. The Baptist Union has 144 churches, 22,500 members, and possibly 50,000 supporters in all. These four Churches may be taken as the Scottish equivalents of "Church and Chapel" in England; together they show a population of some 285,000 non-Presbyterian Protestants—that is, slightly more than one-eighth of the Presbyterians.

The Roman Catholic Church, with 450 churches and chapels organized under six groupings of the old

dioceses and served by over 700 priests, is supported by a population of 607,000, or exactly one-eighth of the inhabitants of Scotland. The only other regular religious community of any significance is that of the Jews, of whom there are about 20,000, very largely concentrated in Glasgow. The Society of Friends, Unitarians, Christian Scientists and the Church of England in Scotland are not important. The work of the Salvation Army, often cutting across that of all sects, is hard to estimate in figures, since its membership roll is constantly changing; one might guess that it reaches some 30,000 persons each year who have no other religious affiliation.

These figures allow us to arrange the religious elements in the Scottish population of approximately 4,850,000 under the following percentages:—

Church of Scotland	43·3
United Free Church (Continuing)	0·6
Free Church	0·4
Free Presbyterian Church	0·1
Reformed Presbyterian Church	0·0
United Original Secession Church	0·1
Total non-established Presbyterians	1·3
Total Presbyterians	44·6
Episcopal Church of Scotland	2·8
Methodist Church of Scotland	0·6
Congregational Union of Scotland	1·5
Baptist Union of Scotland	1·1
Total Evangelical Dissenters	3·2
Total non-presbyterian Protestants	6·0
Total Protestants	50·6
Roman Catholic Church	12·5
Total in Christian Churches	63·1
Jews	0·4
Salvation Army	0·6
Total for Religious Organizations	64·1

The fact which above all else conduces to the preponderant strength of the Church of Scotland is its fidelity to the national tradition in religion. It is, in

modernized but readily recognizable dress, the Church of Knox and Melville, of Henderson and Carstares. Its credal standards are still based on the work of the Westminster Assembly, its parochial system was already foreshadowed in the days of the Lords of the Congregation, its government is conducted through nicely graduated courts whose evolution took place under Queen Mary and James VI, the Melvillian parity of ministers still holds good, and popular elections to-day, as in Reformation times, mark it off both from Catholic and from many other Protestant Churches. Such manifest continuity with the past neither of its chief Scottish rivals can claim; despite royal favour both Episcopacy and Catholicism were driven underground and lost touch with their Scottish antecedents.

With its roots struck deep in Scottish history, the Kirk has nevertheless moved with the times and modified its "testimony" in order to flourish in a Scotland radically different from what it once was. Mention has been made of the more liberal interpretation of the scriptures, the greater latitude in the ministers' subscription to the Confession of Faith, the introduction of instrumental music into services, and the shading-down of old-time Sabbatarianism. The building of new churches and the renovation of old ones, especially such of the lovely pre-Reformation cathedrals as are still available, are likewise significant of the change; no longer is there justice in the sneer about worshipping God in a barn. It was the growing tendency not only to tolerate other sects, but even to regard them with sympathy and charity, which made the reunion of 1929 possible. Long before then, of course, co-operation with other bodies was customary, particularly in the foreign mission field, but the Kirk's entrance into "unrestricted conference" with the Church of England is a novel and illuminating phenomenon. The modern avoidance of once-favoured topics like predestination, election and the need for individual salvation, and the stress laid instead on the universal aspects of the Atonement and of the whole Christian ethic, indicate

what is little less than a revolution—the vivid realization of the common heritage of all Christian Churches, in place of a doctrinaire insistence on their differences.

In contrast to the ideals of the early reformers, whose Kirk was to be responsible for education and poor relief, as well as for the religious welfare of the nation, the changes of the last century might appear to be tantamount to an abdication of spiritual leadership; but it is surely anything but a discredit to the national Church that it was the sole guardian of a social conscience only until such time as the State became aware that it had obligations to the community beyond the upkeep of an army and navy. Moreover, if the Church no longer aspires to dominate the State, its milder attitude is amply rewarded by the State's willingness to concede rights (as in the Act of 1921) which were seldom given in former times. Clerical control of private life and morals, another of the reformers' aims, has also completely disappeared; gone is the whole system of elders' visitations, ministerial rebukes, the stool of penitence, the awful doom of excommunication—regretted by no sane man. All these changes are mere adaptations to the needs of the modern world, rather than evidences of a decay of true religious feeling; so, too, with the increasing use of individual communion cups, a step solely dictated by current knowledge of hygiene. It is harder to explain the decrease of the private exercise of religion, the growing infrequency of family prayers, and even of grace before meals, save by means of a decline in the religious spirit. But, if this is so, the decline has obviously been among the people generally, not in the Church, and many would hold that such a decline is, in view of our forbears' preoccupation with theology, a healthy sign, a proof of the freeing of our mental and moral faculties for other activities.

The Kirk, relieved of powers and duties which were always incidental to its central purpose—although that truth was seldom grasped—is free to concentrate its energies on purely religious functions. Embracing

within its fold the widest variety of ministers and laymen, from philosophic "moderates" and scholarly liberals to "evangelicals" whose fundamentalist faith and simple piety cannot be questioned, it should appeal to all types of Presbyterians. That this appeal is, in fact, successful, and that church-goers on the whole endorse the changes of recent years, appears from the comparatively slender support accorded to the non-established bodies.

The dissenting communities are rallying-points for all who dislike the prevailing tendencies in the Establishment, safety-valves for an excess of "modernization." Some of them are almost sectional rather than national. The largest, the U.F. Church (Continuing), rests on a survival of the old U.P. "voluntaryism" and is strongest in the Covenanted Lowlands of the south-west. In a sense its affinities are with the Scottish Congregationalists, with whom it has an agreement for the training of pastors, and it is the modern expression of the traditional strain of Puritanism and Independency in Scottish Presbyterianism. As a young Church, it is full of vigour and is still expanding. The same can hardly be said of the more conservative, more rigidly orthodox Free and Free Presbyterian Churches, whose support is mainly Highland. Their prohibition of all "worldly" elements like hymns, organ music, and sometimes even sales of work and social meetings, their exacting standards for communion, their hostility towards other sects, all reveal them as belonging to Scotland's past and driven back on the less urbane, more primitive part of society. Their many vacant pulpits indicate that, at best, they are not making headway. Still more is this the case with the older Reformed Presbyterians, with eight congregations served by six ministers, of whom one is Emeritus and the most recent ordination dates to 1905. Much healthier is the state of the oldest of all five, the United Original Secession Church, with few or no vacancies and many recent ordinations. There are possibilities of amalgamation between the

Presbyterian dissenters, though an influential section of the Original Secession, looking to ultimate reunion with the national Church, are averse to closer association with other small sects, which might bar the door against any future rapprochement by strengthening existing antagonism.

The sincerity, simplicity and reverence, of Presbyterian dissenters at all times are undeniable; even to-day some points like their standing posture at prayers or their rigid Sabbatarianism, if judged by purely religious or theological standards, are wholly commendable. They have been eminent for scholarship, claiming men like Thomas McCrie, the able biographer of Knox and Melville, and, a century later, Hay Fleming, one of the most accurate, if also most polemical, of Scottish historians. By contrast, the alterations which give the Church of Scotland its "modern" tone have been made, some in the name of beauty, others for the sake of hygiene, again for comfort, out of consideration for human frailty, or through sheer common sense—seldom, if ever, for religious reasons. The Seceders have maintained the old traditions of orthodoxy untarnished, and, if the early reformers were right for all times, so too are *they* right to-day. The experiences of the five existing Secession remnants, however, show that the vigour and fervency which brought them into being barely survive the first generation; thereafter the alternative to decline is reunion with the mother-church. In its modifications of traditional practice, the Kirk has paid the price for keeping in touch with the national life, but it has been worth it, for the number of those who hanker after a Covenanting or Secession Church is exceedingly small. It is hard to imagine a really great future split in Presbyterian Scotland between orthodoxy and modernism, and one is tempted to affirm that the days of ecclesiastical conflict and disruption are over.

The Episcopal Church claims one out of every thirty-six inhabitants, man, woman and child, yet

obviously it looms much larger in the religious consciousness of the people than such a figure suggests. Partly this is due to its historical background, for it preserves, in altered form, the tradition of what was spasmodically during the seventeenth century the Church of Scotland, and its continuity with that Church, despite the law, was in districts like Aberdeenshire almost complete. Still more does it owe the esteem in which it is held to the fact that it closely resembles, in government, doctrine and worship, the socially eminent Church of England. This reflected glory brings it social prestige out of proportion to its numbers and enables it to play a more conspicuous part than would otherwise be possible. It thus attracts not only English incomers and their descendants, but also those Scotsmen who, through education or vocation, or for private reasons, have come to feel more at home in an English than a Scottish environment. The names of its clergy include many which one would naturally associate with upper- and middle-class England; though it is impossible to dogmatize, since there are scores of names common to both nations (such as Smith, Turner, Black), it is safe to say that there are more Episcopal clergymen with English-sounding names than a vertical section of any Scottish community would yield. These facts explain, if they do not excuse, the persistence of the untutored Scot in talking of "the English Church."

Its growth has been slow, as largely corresponding to the growth of a section of the people, but, in addition to its English and almost hereditary Scottish membership, it has made converts among Scotsmen. These conversions, isolated perhaps but by no means negligible in number, have an importance not always realized. Those to whom the direct simplicity of Presbyterian worship appears unfitting or unlovely, or who respond to the appeal of the ritualism and ceremonial, the vestments and incense, the whole ordered discipline of Catholicism, may find, and in Scotland have found, what they seek in the Episcopal Church, which thus,

paradoxically enough, is in some sense a bulwark of Protestant Scotland against the advance of Rome. This is its national significance ; within its own chosen field, it influences deeply the life and thought of a portion of the people whose educational and material advantages are perhaps above the average.

What the Episcopal Church has been to English settlers with Anglican sympathies, the three evangelical Churches have been to those with a preference for "chapel." The analogy holds good for Scottish converts, for, whereas the former relies on dignity, authority and ceremony, the others base their appeal on their avoidance of ritual and subordination, on their more-than-Presbyterian directness of approach and their congregational autonomy. The Congregationalists claim as their founders the Haldanes who left the Church of Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century, whilst the contributing Evangelical Union stemmed from the Seceders in 1843. The Baptist and Methodist Churches are in effect English imports, and the spirit of all three, to say nothing of their distinctive governmental systems, is that of English dissent ; it is interesting to recall that the Wesleys themselves made very little impression on the Scots. The clergymen of these sects include more Griffiths, Morgans, Hallidays and others like them, of English or Welsh origin, than typical Scots. That the Church of Scotland, with all its modernizing tendencies, still meets the Protestant demand for simplicity of services is evidenced by the fact that, for every member of the small Presbyterian and evangelical communities combined, the Establishment claims ten members. With only slight leakages in either direction, the Kirk clearly does stand for Scottish Protestantism to an extent hard to parallel in any other Protestant country.

In the Roman Catholic Church the alien element is admittedly predominant. The number of Catholics in Scotland, 607,000, falls not far short of the number of those of Irish birth or descent, the small proportion of defections from the Church balancing the indigenous

Romanist population which, located mostly in Dumfriesshire, Inverness-shire and the north, has remained fairly constant for the last two hundred years. The priesthood, too, is largely supplied by the Irish stock, and Catholic clergymen themselves confess their Church's failure to proselytize effectively among Scotsmen—a circumstance which most of the nation view with satisfaction. Not that the old prejudice, the urge to persecute, survives among educated people, but they still feel, as something alien and subversive of the national spirit, the great influence of the Church, with its iron discipline, its inculcation of unquestioning obedience, its penetrative power, its suppression of free thought, its discouragement of many salutary modern practices, its priestly pretensions, its control from abroad, while they have not forgotten its evil record in pre Reformation times. Specious pleadings of individual Scots for the re-Catholicization of the country, based on unhistorical appraisal of its medieval culture, fall on deaf ears, for the strongest possible counter-arguments are to hand in the effects of Catholic dominance in Ireland, and in the quarrels or uneasy alliance of Church and State in countries like Italy, Spain and Mexico.

The whole Irish-Catholic question, which is as much sociological as religious, is usually handled delicately nowadays, since no one wants the sort of race-conflict visualized in Mr. George M. Thomson's *Caledonia*. It would, however, be disingenuous to deny that there are many who are alarmed about the possible future effects on the Scottish nation of the fact that one-eighth of the population is alien in extraction, *mores* and religious faith. And yet there is no evidence of the alleged great difference between Scottish and Irish birthrates, and there is good reason to believe that the problem will not become more acute and may be eased before very long. There is not much work to attract fresh immigrants and there is self-government as an inducement to remain at home. Moreover, it is clear that much of the strength of Communism in Scotland and

part of that of Socialism depend on the Irish vote, and this, in the long run, since the Papacy has authoritatively declared both systems to be incompatible with true Catholic belief, may entail considerable defections from that Church. There is thus a prospect of the ultimate absorption of the Irish incomers in the Scottish nation, through the secularization of large numbers of the laity and the mere passage of time in a Scottish environment, but the whole temper and traditions of the Scottish people show that the process cannot be conducted under Catholic auspices. Meanwhile, planted in Scotland largely by alien hands and subsisting with its customary tenacity in self-imposed isolation from other institutions, the Church of Rome, though it makes very few converts among native Scots, influences the lives of its members perhaps more deeply and intimately than does any other.

It would be disingenuous to omit reference to the existence in Scotland of a large "Churchless" element. The statistics given above, tentative as they are, cannot be far out in respect of their implication that this element amounts to nearly 36 per cent. of the total population, or, almost one and three quarter millions of people. Interesting confirmation of this figure is to be found in *The Call to the Church*, the official volume of "The Forward Movement": "Reliable statistics have established the fact that 36 per cent. of the adult population, of Scottish blood and birth, have no Church connection." Hence the Church's usual assumption that one-third of the people are out of touch with public worship is an understatement rather than an exaggeration.

This fact is no modern phenomenon—at all times large sections of the people have had no religious affiliations and perhaps very little in the way of religious faith. The medieval Church, with its brave show on the top and its starvation of rural parishes, neglected the cure of thousands of souls, and the reformed Kirk, disappointed in its hopes of inheriting any considerable part of the patrimony of its predecessor, had for long

to concentrate its efforts on the towns, where it was popular and effective. In the remote Highlands the ministrations of Catholic priests, as the extra-legal activities of men whose very education was surreptitious, were no valid substitute for regular religion. It was not till the eighteenth century that the Church, which found a useful ally in the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, was able to "plant" kirks in the less accessible parts, and by that time the nature of the problem was changing. The districts which the Church must evangelize were no longer the sparsely peopled rural parishes, but the congested towns of the industrial belt. Dr. Chalmers, the most effective evangelist of his day, bears testimony to the want of success which had for many years attended the Church's efforts in Glasgow. In 1817 he found from a personal survey of the densely-populated Tron Parish that not one-third of the inhabitants had a Church connection of any kind—and the Tron was not the worst of the Glasgow parishes. Glasgow, with only two churches of the Establishment added while the population was being quadrupled, presented an extreme case, but all over the Central Lowlands conditions offered a serious challenge to ecclesiastical endeavour.

It is doubtful if the challenge could have been met without the impetus of the mutual rivalries of the three main Presbyterian Churches. The Free Church was ambitious enough to attempt to cover the whole ground of the Church of Scotland in its own way, while the U.P. Church branched out in every locality where it was in demand. All three grew until there was not a congested area, and hardly a hamlet or farm-house, which was not within reach of one or other. The union of all three stocks gives the present Church of Scotland nearly 3,000 organized congregations, and the addition thereto of the churches of the other sects gives a total of nearly 4,200 places of Protestant worship. There is thus almost exactly one church for every thousand people, whether Protestant or Catholic, man, woman, or child. No longer can it be claimed

that lack of a church connection is due to either inaccessibility or overcrowding. Churches are plentiful, and they are quick to appear in any new settlement. They are also, for the most part, ready and willing to welcome new members. The Church of Scotland, by dispensing with the rather repellent formalities of the "catechumen" stage in the case of adults, often grants full membership on easier terms than formerly. Hence the nature of the problem has once more changed, as the Church, through its spokesmen, admits. The non-church-going section, in the words of Dr. White (as reported in the *Glasgow Herald* of October 30, 1933), is "no longer apologetic. It is self-assertive, clear, and visible." "It is not," asserts *The Call to the Church*, "as though this great multitude were indifferent merely. Very many of them are estranged from the Church and embittered against it, scorning it as a middle-class institution; while others, influenced by the secular thought of the time, regard it more or less contemptuously as obscurantist and effete."

In a search for the reasons for present-day "Churchlessness," which must be influenced by personal experiences and impressions, and perhaps by personal sympathies and prejudices, one point at least is self-evident—Scotland's case is by no means unique. English statistics are no more precise than Scottish, but approximations may be made. The Easter communicants and Sunday scholars of the Church of England total, in round numbers, four and a half millions, and the corresponding figure for the dissenters is five millions. There are over two million Catholics and a quarter of a million Jews, so that, when allowance is made for minor denominations, the number of those with any Church connection in England and Wales is about twelve millions, or practically 30 per cent. of the total population. It is true that many adherents should be added to these figures, especially in the case of the Church of England, but it is still significant that the corresponding percentage for Scotland is about 55. In the United States of America, too, where a religious

census is conducted by the Department of Commerce, the total Church membership, as in Scotland, accounts for less than half the population. Abstention from Church affiliations is clearly part of a movement common to many nations of the modern world, and it is not more marked in Scotland than elsewhere.

It must further be granted that those who refrain from public worship do so deliberately, not because of any lack of facilities. Far from being composed of the poor and uneducated, the manual labourer and the social outcast, they form a wide vertical section of the nation and they are inspired, in the opinion of leaders of the Church, not alone by indifference or unthinking hostility, but by some secular train of thought, some philosophy of life, however crude, however presumptuous it may be in many cases. Nor can it be doubted that inferences and deductions from recent scientific advances have gone to the shaping of this philosophy, or that Darwinism and Evolution, despite all denials of the incompatibility of religious and scientific truth, have told heavily against the Churches. It is perhaps unfortunate that many critics are unaware of the changes that have come over Christian thought, whereby the old doctrine of the "level inspiration" of the Bible has been largely abandoned and something closely resembling an Evolution theory itself put in its place, so that the scriptures become an unequal series of studies of the emergent sense of the divine in man, of his steadily clarifying conception of the nature and attributes of God and of himself. But if the sceptic, assailing fundamentalism with the weapons of fifty years ago, imagines that he is attacking modern concepts of Christianity, this is partly the avowed fault of the Churches, since, if ministers are not unanimous in their "liberalism," the faithful laity are still further behind the times.

The irreligious are, however, by no means all pure agnostics or sceptics, refraining from Church for conscience' sake. Practical considerations count for as much as abstract theorizing, and their beliefs may

often be little more than rationalized justifications for rooted instincts. They may, indeed, include many attendants at public worship, who abstain from membership through diffidence or laziness, because of constant travelling or a desire to vary their forms of worship, or for other private reasons. Much more important is the fact that for most adults Sunday is the only complete holiday in the week; religious observance thereof suffers by contrast with other methods of employing the day of leisure, rest and enjoyment. The recent great increase in all kinds of Sunday travelling and in outdoor activities and games has affected every class in the community, and, though it is claimed that this need not prevent attendance at Church, it is undeniable that, for many thousands, it has done so. Its critics, even in the pulpit, are partially disarmed, for it generally involves a healthy recreation which is, in fact, obtained largely at the expense of the Churches.

The Churches are aware of the existence of indifference, hostility and scepticism in the nation, and alive to the possible decay of old Scots traditions and the substitution therefor of a powerful new non-church-going habit. Much of the inspiration of the Church of Scotland's "Forward Movement," indeed, is the hope of re-evangelizing the Churchless masses. In the circumstances of modern life, however, there is not much indication of the prospect of a material diminution in the number of those who, for a variety of reasons, choose to have no religious affiliation. On the whole, in view of the elements of stability and permanence both within the Churches and outside of them, it does not seem likely that our generation will witness any very vital change in the religious grouping of the nation.

CHAPTER IX

SCOTTISH CULTURE

ARE we to believe that Scotland, in a cultural sense, has fallen away sadly from the standards and the achievements of the later middle ages, that the glory departed from the nation when it ceased to be a recognized and important participator in the general process of West European civilization, which was based on the universality of the Catholic Church? Our answer will depend to some extent on individual criteria and judgments, but, if the discussion be based on sound principles, objectivity and impartiality should not be unattainable. The chief points to bear in mind are two. In the first place, the problem should be considered in relation to its material background: historical, social and economic factors conditioned the development of a distinctively Scottish civilization, and to neglect these factors is to gain a distorted and irrational view of the subject. Secondly, no answer is valid unless it is based on a continuous and comprehensive study of the problem—continuous in time from the beginnings until the present day, comprehensive enough to embrace every aspect of true cultural endeavour.

As to the first point, the material and spiritual environment of the national life has been indicated in the pages above, and a brief recapitulation of the salient facts is all that is needed here. Geography was chiefly responsible for Scotland's lack of a classical or Roman tradition, which gave most of its rivals a starting point and foundation. Distance, too, meant isolation, or at least very imperfect contact with the mainstream of European thought and progress. During many centuries agriculture was the basic industry of mankind, and Scotland, handicapped by poverty of soil,

was doomed to secondary importance as a small nation, engrossed in a hard struggle for existence; the first care was life, not in its fullest sense, but as a mere avoidance of death. In these respects an analogy could be drawn with a few other countries, most notably, perhaps, with Norway, but in other ways Scotland's case was unique. In the midst of the prevailing poverty the medieval Catholic Church enjoyed excessive wealth and became one of the most corrupt and irresponsible of European institutions. This circumstance predetermined the nature of early Scots Protestantism as something harsh, severe and anti-ritualistic, indifferent or hostile to, or at best only mildly interested in, such refinements of civilization as were thought to savour of Popery. From the late eighteenth century onwards the discovery and exploitation of large quantities of coal and iron, in conjunction with the English economic advance, led to the industrialization of the Lowlands, transformed the peasant into a factory worker, raised the population from one to nearly five millions, and brought in its train riches and poverty, booms and depressions. Throughout and above all was the fact of the proximity of England, kindred in speech and race but larger, wealthier, and stronger, potentially either a help or a hindrance to Scotland's foreign relations.

Secondly, we should consider, against this historic background, the development of Scottish culture in three departments, which we may call the artistic, literary and diffusive faculties and may liken to three concentric circles, with pure artistic content lessening and popular appeal increasing as we proceed outwards from the centre. In the innermost circle are the fine arts—painting, architecture, sculpture and music, an esoteric group presupposing arduous professional training, as well as genius and subtlety, and demanding advanced technique, both of execution and appreciation. Next comes literature, more influential in the national life, since the *entrée* for aspirants is easier and the general response, both intrinsically and artificially

(through the printing press), wider and readier. The outermost circle comprises all the educative and publicising forces, all the channels for the diffusion of culture among the people, including, besides the church, schools, universities, the theatre, the press, and, potentially at least, the cinema and the radio. This arrangement may be arbitrary, but so are all distinctions in the aesthetic sphere—there was none, it should be recalled, in the medieval mind, between art and craft, between artist and artisan; and some such scheme is necessary to enable us to envisage our subject in its totality.

In the fine arts the medieval tradition of Scotland was strong in certain directions, weak or simply non-existent in others. Its architecture, both ecclesiastical and baronial, was of quite a high standard. Ideas, styles and even craftsmen were, of course, freely imported from abroad, especially for church building; "this country of exceptional monastic endowments," says Dr. Coulton (in *Scottish Abbeys and Social Life*), "was exceptionally dependent upon foreign artists." Not that our ecclesiastical architecture was purely derivative and imitative—native modifications gave the buildings a bold and rugged quality most congenial to land, people and climate. The earliest ecclesiastical remains, except for some Celtic slabs, free-standing crosses and beehive cells, date from the "feudal" period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as regards their commencement, at least, for building was generally continuous and cumulative throughout the later Middle Ages. At first English influence was supreme in the introduction of both Norman and First Pointed styles, but from the War of Independence churchmen looked rather to France for guidance, so that, in the latest Gothic phase, Scottish churches inclined rather to the Flamboyant than to the Perpendicular. In either case, however, Scotland lagged far behind her mentors, and clung to Norman and early Gothic styles long after they were outmoded elsewhere, asserting a pleasing if perverse individuality in her

partiality for flat or round arches, single or double lancet windows and bold, massive, even barrel-vaults. Hence, in addition to the round towers of Brechin and Abernethy, the square one of St. Regulus at St. Andrews, and the few purely Norman churches like Leuchars and Dalmeny, the remains of the cathedrals, especially St. Andrews, Elgin, Kirkwall and Glasgow (with its unique vault), the great Border abbeys of Jedburgh, Kelso and Melrose, Dunfermline and Holyrood abbeys, Beaulieu and Pluscardine priories, all suggest, in their very "unfashionableness," a perfect harmony with their wild environment. When, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there was a fresh outburst of ecclesiastical endowment and construction, the royal, clerical and baronial patrons of the collegiate churches then in vogue relied more than ever on Continental models, and it is now fairly generally recognized that the finest of them all, Roslyn Chapel, is linked with Spanish and Portuguese churches, while others like Trinity College, in Edinburgh, and Bothwell church, near Glasgow, owe a great deal to France.

Though Scottish medieval churches were accordingly distinctive and characteristic in respect of both their archaisms and their dimensions—St. Andrews, the greatest of them all, measured internally only 355 feet—they were yet simply an offshoot of the Norman and Gothic modes of West Europe, which achieved their real triumphs elsewhere. In the circumstances this was inevitable, for church building and decorating were an outward and visible symbol, the most unmistakable expression, of the *unitas Catholica*, which in theory knew no national frontiers. As a matter of course, foreign models and foreign as well as Scottish craftsmen were employed by the clergymen (whose personal connection with the actual labour was slender), and this applies also to the ancillary work involved in the decorating of the edifices—stone-cutting, glazing, wood-carving, metal-working, and so forth. Much of this decorative work was destroyed at the Reformation, but the old fallacy which attributed

to the same revolution all or any considerable part of the dilapidation of the buildings themselves is no longer held by serious students. Lack of upkeep through diversion of funds to less worthy motives, faulty original planning and poor repair-work, the ravages of a rigorous climate, English invasions and sheer neglect had all played their part, so that before 1560 many churches were in a state of progressive decay. After the Reformation the suspension of services in buildings deemed unsuitable for Protestant worship was a further incentive to the populace to "win" stones for their private use, but of actual Protestant destruction of abbeys, cathedrals and churches there was exceedingly little.

Scottish castles, like churches, were for the most part native adaptations of foreign models. Commencing in the twelfth century, as an import from France by way of England, they symbolize the aristocratic aspect of the feudal reorganization of the kingdom. Primarily military and defensive in nature, they were also regular residences of kings, nobles and ecclesiastics, serving a social function as the executive centres or capitals of great estates. The earliest were mere earthworks with timber and clay buildings. From these came, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (when the very idea of a castle was going out of fashion in England), stone wall enclosures, with keep and smaller towers, enclosing a wooden hall and other structures within the "curtain." Further evolution, by stressing the hall as the architectural feature, produced "court-yard" castles like Doune, Tantallon and St. Andrews, and their plan became standard for the greater strongholds, including the royal castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and the royal palaces of Falkland and Linlithgow. Renaissance influences may be traced in them from the early sixteenth century, when both James IV and James V employed French master-masons, and regularity and symmetry began to replace casual and cumulative building. At the Reformation, however, they were still simply a domestic variant of a normal

continental mode, a variant to which the latest commentator, Dr. Mackay Mackenzie, would apply the Scots term "palace"; "to the mediæval observer," he says (in *The Mediæval Castle in Scotland*), "there were but two types of self-subsisting houses, the tower and the hall. . . . 'Palace' was a term descriptive of a particular class of building and has no reference to the rank of its occupant. . . . The Scottish 'palace' is own brother to the English 'hall,' the Scots preferring the more pedantic form."

Unable to afford pretentious "palaces," the lesser nobles and lairds clung to the tower and, by developing it as a residence as well as a defence, evolved at length the Scots baronial style, which constitutes the country's greatest claim to architectural distinction. The towers showed a wide variety of forms, but all agreed in this respect, that their height was their greatest dimension. At first they were simple rectangles in plan, like the gaunt fourteenth-century Douglas stronghold of Threave, but occasionally a wing was added, as in Dunnottar Tower or Portincross, and in the sixteenth century this "L" type became common. These extensions gave not only increased accommodation but also, supposedly, opportunities for flanking defence of the main building. About the foot of the tower clustered stables, byres, barns and granaries, enclosed within a barmkin or low stone wall. In the middle of the sixteenth century the architectural possibilities of the style were just beginning to be realized, but already there were towers like Elphinstone and Rusco, on the original pattern, Dunvegan and Dunnottar, with one wing, and Borthwick, with two, which, if not so striking as the cathedrals or palaces, came nearer to being an authentic and worthy product of the native genius.

The burgesses' town-houses, meanwhile, were simple thatched timber structures, peculiarly liable to destruction by fire and almost certainly devoid of architectural merit; not till about the middle of the sixteenth century did nobles and merchants begin to aspire to better things. Few indeed are the survivors

from these days. Edinburgh during the last century boasted some ancient houses, but in the 'seventies and 'eighties, while MacGibbon and Ross were compiling their monumental works on Scottish architecture, most of them were demolished before their very eyes. Mary of Guise's House in the Lawnmarket was taken down in 1883. "John Knox's House" in the High Street—the connection with the reformer is more than dubious—has been greatly altered from its early state, though it does recall for us the sort of house which was coming into use about 1550—outside stone stair leading to a first-floor main door, lower storeys of stone with open gallery on the ground, upper floors with timber-work protruding each beyond the other, high narrow crow-stepped gables and tiny gablets to the front. Here and elsewhere the failure of the old buildings to survive, casual references in records and the evidence of prints and engravings of vanished houses all point to the conclusion that Scotland's town-dwellings before the Reformation were neither distinguished nor enduring; they are the reverse to the picture of magnificent abbeys and frowning castles.

The medieval Church patronized the minor arts and Scotland, like the rest of Christendom, had doubtless much beautiful stained-glass, carved woodwork and metalwork. The Jameses, too, commissioned painting, both for portraiture and heraldry, while some attractive manuscript illuminations survive. These productions, however, would nowadays be classed as crafts rather than as fine arts and, in the absence of any evidence of art or sculpture (which only began to be significant on the continent in the fourteenth century and thence radiated slowly out to Britain), we must regard Scotland's medieval record in these respects as a blank.

As regards the fourth of the fine arts, music, the evidence shows Scotland, while not leading any new movements like France or England, in a state not dissimilar to that of other countries. Church-organs were in regular use, choral services were professionally organized, some cathedrals and abbeys ran song-

schools, minstrels, harpers and fiddlers stood high in royal and baronial favour, whilst pipers (often with bag-pipes) and drummers aroused the burgesses and sounded the curfew. Some Church music survives, and the name of Robert Johnson is commended by the critics. But Scotland was, by all accounts, especially rich in folk-song and folk-dances. This fragile art-form is now represented for us by a few songs or titles of songs like *Ha, now the day dawis*, *The Wyf of Auchtermuchty*, and *The Wooing of Jok and Jenny*. What happened to many of the others makes a curious though well-known and not unparalleled story. The Scots reformers produced no great body of original hymns in any way comparable to those of Luther, but, feeling like the modern Salvation Army hymnologists that "the devil should not have all the good tunes," they grafted good Calvinist sentiments or an anti-popish tag on to the gay, profane, non-moral and licentious songs of the people and included the results in that odd volume *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, in which, under heavy disguise, the secular ballads of the Middle Ages may be detected. Most of the Jameses were patrons, players and lovers of music, and, if Rogers's fate at Lauder Bridge argues a different attitude among some of the barons, the people at large sang and danced whenever opportunity offered. Beyond that it would be unsafe to dogmatize, for extravagant claims of national prowess in this department are simply not borne out by facts.

Scotland's medieval attainments in the fine arts were conditioned by her position as the remote north-western outpost of Christendom. While far behind other and more favoured countries—the churches, for example, can hardly be compared to the great Gothic cathedrals of England, France and Germany—she shared in the general European culture of the times, getting ideas from abroad and imparting thereto native touches to harmonize them with the environment. If isolation and poverty gravely hampered its power of expression, the national spirit showed itself, in the

churches, to a lesser degree in the castles, and yet more faintly in the songs of the people, to be far from deaf to the appeal of the arts.

The end of the Middle Ages meant a break with cultural, as with religious, traditions, and, whilst most of the changes were markedly beneficial, in one sense there is cause for regret. On a long view, few will deny that as regards European architecture in general the change was for the worse. It is probably true that the Gothic cult was foredoomed to decay from inherent defects, and that in any case it could not survive the break-up of that society, the slow wilting of that faith, which called it into being and gave it reality and vigour. Moreover, many of the typical buildings of the new age, Venetian palaces, French châteaux, Georgian homes of England, will always evoke admiration. And yet the confused succession of architectural modes commencing with the Renaissance and continuing down to the present day, is poor consolation for the loss of the medieval unity of spirit, which, practically ineffective in many ways, did achieve complete self-expression in the Christian churches. The very rapidity of the later changes, as well as such titles as "revived Classical," "neo-Greek" and "revived Gothic," prove that the main fault has lain in departure from functionalism. To the cathedral builder the problem was to give effect to the idea of the human soul aspiring heavenwards, and simple fidelity to the need of the moment ensured harmony and lasting beauty; but, until "modern" tendencies began to assert themselves, notably in Germany and America, little attempt was made to express anything beyond the whims and fancies of owners and builders, and Scotland suffered with the rest of the world.

The Renaissance, apart from a few elusive traces of its influence from the late fifteenth century onwards, had no lasting results in this country until the time of the Reformation, and the two movements operated in the artistic sphere substantially as one. Large churches immediately went out of favour with the Scots

Protestants, and the smaller ones which took their place, though often in keeping with the simplicity and directness of early Calvinism, had little that was pleasing to the eye. Exception might be made in favour of two groups. Where local feeling, under aristocratic influences, tended to be critical of Presbyterianism and sympathetic to Episcopacy, Gothic styles were sometimes revived, with Renaissance details, as in churches like Drainie (Moray), Fordel (Fife), Walston (Lanarkshire) and Terregles (Galloway). Alternatively, prevailing fashions in castle-building reacted on many typically Presbyterian churches, and MacGibbon and Ross, authorities on both branches of the subject, showed the affinity between the churches of the Anstruthers, Pittenweem or St. Michael's (Cupar), on the one hand, and the contemporaneous houses of the baronage, on the other. After about 1700, however, this practice ceased, ugly English and European modes were slavishly copied, and distinctively Scottish ecclesiastical architecture came to an end.

With the castles the case was different. The courtyard plan was extensively used, but the introduction of Renaissance details often led to incongruous and unhappy results, as in the Palace of Holyrood, completely reconstructed in and around 1672. The blending process was more successful in certain town buildings like Glasgow Old College and George Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh, but the square towers of the lesser barons and lairds afford the clearest evidence of the national taste in architecture. These men, enriched through the secularization of Church lands, began to aspire to artistic elegance as well as military strength in their homes. Defensive features were modified, parapets abandoned, abbreviated or made purely decorative, pack-saddle roofs built on crow-stepped gables, great coped chimneys constructed, corbelling improved and angle turrets at the wall head roofed in with tapering spires. New methods of adding wings produced the so-called Z-type, with two diagonally opposite wings, the E-type with two wings on one side, and the T-type with

a short projection in the middle of a long side. Thus, long after England had turned from castles to civilian houses, Scotland, taking hardly to the idea of abiding peace, clung to the models which had served in more turbulent times, and so, again almost perversely, achieved in the post-Reformation towers of the Scots baronial style an indigenous art-form of beauty and distinction. There were wide differences in plan and style, but they all present the same general characteristics of severe plainness near the ground and a rich variety of pleasing ornamentation towards the top. Among the best of them are Hatton, Greenknowe, Claypotts, Anisfield, Coxton, Craigievar and Scotstarvit; but there are scores of others of which any nation might be proud. "They are," said James Ferguson in his exhaustive survey of the world's architecture, "as remarkable as any class of buildings erected after the Middle Ages, both for originality and picturesqueness."

The style unfortunately became unpopular in the late seventeenth century, current modes of other lands won approval, many baronial towers were allowed to decay, and others, like Huntly and Glamis, were so altered that they lost most of their peculiar native charm. Town dwellings too, which, under French Renaissance influences, had often been artistic and pleasing, as in the High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh, became less so as the seventeenth century advanced. It is vain to look for national styles in church, castle, or house after 1700, for most of the building was uninspired and imitative. The infelicitous consequences of confusion and plagiarism cannot escape the eye of the most casual of present-day spectators of, for example, Edinburgh's Princes Street or Glasgow's Great Western Road. Not that Scotland has not had good architects or fine buildings during the last two hundred years. The Adam brothers, true children of the eighteenth century *Aufklärung*, if their activities led them to England rather than Scotland, did give their native land a few noteworthy structures like the College and the Register House in

Edinburgh and the Infirmary in Glasgow. And within the last five years there died two other Scots architects of high repute. Sir Robert Lorimer is especially remembered for the universally admired National War Memorial at Edinburgh Castle and the Thistle Chapel in St. Giles. The art of the Glaswegian Charles Rennie Mackintosh took him far afield, brought him a European name, and made him latterly more at home in Vienna than in his native city, but there the Art School recalls his memory to his fellow citizens. There have been able individualists, but Scottish builders on the whole have failed to harmonize beauty and utility, to scrap unworthy survivals and to preserve deserving ones, or to evolve any significant new cult. Regional surveys and town-planning are in an elementary stage, most villages present, against a background of great natural beauty, veritable models of ugliness, unspeakable slums abound and new housing schemes are seldom æsthetic joys. There is cold comfort for the deplorable conditions of modern Scottish architecture in the consideration that an unimaginative past has burdened other industrialized countries with an unwanted, if not so acutely distressing, heritage of unloveliness.

The record of the immediate past is more cheering in other directions. True, Scotland has had neither great sculptors nor musical composers, but it has at least produced and clung to a fine body of folk-song. In view of the tendency of popular poetry and melody, depending on oral effort for survival, to suffer change and mutilation or even, unless given permanence in writing, to disappear entirely, Scotland has been lucky in having men and women with sufficient interest and attainments to value and collect what would otherwise have been lost to posterity. In this connection Macpherson's dubious adventures in the Celtic twilight, though they caused a first-class sensation in his own day, are hardly relevant, but since his times the work of three persons of genius and unassailable *bona fides* stands out pre-eminently. Robert Burns found time during a pitifully short life to collect many folk-songs,

to adapt or improve the existing words, or, more commonly, to compose afresh for old tunes. Sir Walter Scott wrote down or re-wrote all that appealed to his patriotism and his critical faculty in the ballads, which derive directly in spirit if obliquely in form from the art of the minstrels; in their present shape they give a modernized and probably idealized version of the popular narrative poems once recited to the accompaniment of the harp. In our own day Mrs. Marjorie Kennedy-Fraser tapped an almost untried source in Gaelic folk-poetry (though Burns did use a few Gaelic airs), and made the nation her debtor with her edition of the songs of the Hebrides. To deride work of this kind as a tampering with the genuine product of the folk-spirit is inept and ungracious, yet it is still occasionally done. Not only is it clear that the essentials of the originals are generally preserved and that the alterations and additions are improvements; it is even doubtful if, in many cases, anything would have survived without the interested labours of these collectors.

Of the three Burns was the most important, for his songs have stood the test of time and form to-day the bulk of Scotland's folk-music. That he could have achieved this much without any musical technique, that he, alone of the great poets, should have contented himself for the time with the rôle of craftsman writing for existing melodies, without real knowledge of the work involved, is a fantastic theory. His musical attainments were definite and adequate, if limited. "His knowledge of music," says Mr. J. C. Dick, an acute critic and editor of the songs, "was in fact elemental; his taste lay entirely in melody, without ever reaching an appreciation of contrapuntal or harmonious music. . . . He discovered many traditional melodies in his excursions through Scotland, and was the means of getting the notation printed, thus preserving a considerable collection of folk-music which otherwise would have perished; . . . Scotland is as much indebted to him for the perpetuation of its music as it is for its lyrics." Burns marks the peak of Scottish

achievement in the only branch of music in which the national genius may be said to have succeeded.

In Scotland as in England painting made a belated start. In the two countries the first impulses were almost identical. Foreigners had for long held undisputed sway in Britain, notably Holbein and VanDyck, and it was as pupils and imitators of the latter that, in the early seventeenth century, Dobson worked in England and Jamesone in Scotland. In the middle of the following century Allan Ramsay, son of the poet, was a fashionable and competent painter, but the revival of culture and elegance, which made of Edinburgh, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a true metropolis, found its best artistic expression in the portraits of Sir Henry Raeburn, who, ranking with his great English contemporaries, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney and Lawrence, is, in respect of the fine arts, the greatest, perhaps the only truly great, Scotsman of all time. During his life-time landscapes and historical themes were being painted in Scotland, but only excessive partiality could place the work of once popular men like Sir David Wilkie or Sir George Harvey alongside that of Crome, Constable and the English "naturalists."

The early nineteenth century was not brilliant for British art, but later on, after pre-Raphaelitism had declined in vigour, Scotland played a big part in the reaction against that mode. Continuously from the 'eighties to our own day "the Scottish School," particularly associated with Glasgow, has been prominent and successful, producing fine portraitists in Orchardson and Guthrie and many other talented men like Pettie, McTaggart, Walton and Graham, and giving to Europe and the world Lavery and Henry. A valuable corrective to national complacency is, however, supplied by one who must be deemed neither unfit to judge nor unkind to his native land: Scotland has produced, says Sir D. Y. Cameron, "no painters of mighty visions"—"the seats of the mighty are still empty." And yet it is in painting, of all the arts, that Scotland has come

nearest to greatness ! A cramping environment and a late start are mainly responsible for the country's poor showing as compared with that of England, France, Germany or Italy ; but the medieval cathedrals and abbeys, the post-Reformation baronial towers, the songs of Burns, the work of a line of distinguished portrait-painters from Ramsay to Guthrie, reveal the nation as able on occasion to rise above unfavourable circumstances and to emulate the creative capacity of other peoples.

Adverse material conditions have affected Scottish literature less continuously and less violently, though they must again be blamed for a late start, as well as for the failure of writers at any time to aspire to the sublime heights. It is vain to look for the pure spirituality of a Spenser, the catholicity of a Shakespeare, the emotional intoxication of a Shelley ; but it is something that, within its chosen course, the stream of Scottish authorship has flowed almost unbroken for upwards of five hundred years. It took its rise in the English wars and the awakening of patriotism in deed and thought, for Barbour's fourteenth-century *Brus* and its inferior successors, Wyntoun's *Orygynall Cronikil* and Blind Harry's *Wallace*, appealed to the people's interest in the deeds, real and legendary, of their ancestors and (in the case of the last two) to their fear and hatred of " the auld enemy." They are naturally of deep interest to the historian, the antiquarian and the philologist, whilst their quaint archaisms and quainter credulities give them adventitious charm, but, falling far short of epic quality, frequently descending to mere doggerel, and abounding in the puerilities and imperfections of literary adolescence, they are in no sense great or even second-rate poetry ; the *Brus* especially has been extravagantly over-praised on account of its priority and the patriotism of its theme. Still less can be said on behalf of the monkish chronicles in Latin prose occasionally (very occasionally) compiled in the later Middle Ages. The *Scotichronicon* is the most informative of the early narratives, but in James V's reign we

may faintly detect the first stirrings of the Renaissance spirit in Hector Boece's elegant Latin, characteristic of the humanist revival, and in John Major's un-medieval advocacy of royal inter-marriages as a means of uniting England and Scotland. Vernacular prose was being employed more and more for official purposes—statutes, proclamations, minutes, accounts—as well as for religious pamphleteering, but its literary use was confined to translations from foreign tongues, and even these were not good until just before the Reformation.

True poetry received its impetus from England and there flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Scottish Chaucerians, or, to call them by a title at once more definitive and less restrictive, the Scots makars. Borrowing from Chaucer their technique, some of their diction, and the conventional framework for their more imitative verse, they yet refused to be mere disciples and gave of their best only when they broke away from traditional themes and methods. There was thus something of a conflict in the mind of each makar between the English poet's influence, shown in allegorical, dream-and-vision verse, and native inspiration, inclining especially to realism and satire; most modern critics look rather to the second group for originality and merit.

This dualism could be traced back to the earliest Scottish poet, if we could be certain that James I wrote not only *The Kingis Quair*, but also *Peblis to the Play* and *Christis Kirk on the Grein*, poems of a very different stamp, though this does not militate against the theory of a common authorship, least of all perhaps in Scotland. The first, an allegory artificial in form, theme and diction, would have little to distinguish it from similar poetic exercises, were it not relieved and informed by an intensity and a reality which are probably autobiographical, the emotional afterglow of James's own wooing of Joan Beaufort. The others, vivid and colourful pen-pictures of the frolicking gaiety of fair-time, are the direct ancestors of a long line of poems, culminating in those of Burns and portraying

realistically and not too fastidiously the life of the ordinary people. Like the baronial towers, as compared to, say, Melrose Abbey or Roslyn Chapel, they are more of a native product than is the *Quair*, a better expression of the national genius, a truer source of Scottish poetic tradition.

In Robert Henryson, writing towards the end of the fifteenth century, we find the same twofold division of interests. In Chaucerian vein are two long poems on classical themes, *Orpheus and Eurydice* and *The Testament of Cresseid*, the second of them explicitly a continuation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresseid*, rounding off the tale of infidelity with punishment by leprosy. Though some fine descriptive naturalism retrieves them from the charge of artificiality and tedium, we must look elsewhere for the poet's best. Henryson's temperament was serious, reflective and didactic, and his verse is tinged with the melancholy or at least the resignation of the elderly scholar robbed of life's illusions. We see it in *The Bludy Serk*, in *The Prais of Aige*, in *The Abbay Walk*; it insinuates itself in his two finest pieces, *The Morall Fabillis of Esope* and *Robene and Makyne*. These two, the former for its genuine interest in animal nature, the latter as a pastoral that somehow contrives to ring true, and both for their conciseness and their fidelity to the Scottish background, mark Henryson as an accomplished craftsman and a discerning lover of his native land.

In the works of the greatest of the old makars, William Dunbar, who wrote under James IV, the conflict between Chaucerian and native influences is decidedly one-sided. Only two of his ninety-one poems, *The Thrissill and the Rois* (celebrating the King's marriage with Margaret Tudor) and *The Goldyn Targe* (romanticizing the contest between love and reason), are conventional allegories and in both the poet shows that he is alive to the artificiality of the cult; though in a few other poems, as when he praises London, he uses the same florid or "aureate" diction. For the most part his poetry, realistic to a fault, is "occasional,"—complaints over his non-

promotion, abuse of successful but unworthy rivals, commendation of the "policy" of Aberdeen and castigation of that of Edinburgh, slices of "real life" mixed up with biting satires on human folly and vice, or with moral poems and hymns. The variety of his metres is matched by the diversity of his moods, which range from the chaste fancy of *The Goldyn Targe*, the pathos of the *Lament for the Makaris*, and the resignation of *All Erdly Joy returnis in Pane*, through the self-seeking of *Complayntis and Petitions* or the "merry" objectivity of *The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*, to the scurrilous audacity of *The Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy*, the studied malevolence of that strange poetic tourney, *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy*, and the morbid imaginativeness of *The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis*.

Several of Dunbar's poetic devices—testaments, laments and ballads—and many of his metres, as well as his ability to turn from blasphemy to hymnology, are strongly reminiscent of Villon, but his realistic and satirical genius derives from preceding makars and looks forward to Fergusson and Burns. All his poems are perfect of their kind; if he ever put his name to obviously inferior stuff in the way Burns did, it has not survived, probably because, printing being still a novelty (the first Scottish press was set up when he was middle-aged), the rarity of books and manuscripts had a winnowing effect on his works. Unlike Burns, too, he cannot strike the deeper chords of human emotion—merriment, scorn, amusement, pity, he does evoke, but never soul-stirring grief or joy. And yet he is far more than a faithful painter of court and city life in Scotland at the time of the Renaissance: he comes nearer to technical perfection than any of his fellow-countrymen before or since, and must be acclaimed the finest flower of Scots medieval culture.

Dunbar preserved the name of not a few brother-poets of whom little is known. Of his contemporaries, Walter Kennedy, his opponent in *The Flyting*, left only a few short pieces, though it is fair to add that there is

really not much to choose between the two in respect of their command of invective and vituperation. Gavin Douglas wrote two lengthy allegories of the type that Dunbar did well to leave ; the modern reader who finds time and inclination to wade through *The Palice of Honour* or *King Hart* must be unusually hardy. His translation of the *Aeneid* contains, as preludes, descriptive pieces which have found admirers, but most Scotsmen to-day accept Douglas's labours as indicative of the revived classical learning, and leave it at that. The man on whom Dunbar's mantle should have descended was Sir David Lyndsay, who wrote under James V and the Regent Arran. In him didactic purpose took the place of the objectivity and occasional light-heartedness of the makars, so that his poems are mostly versified propaganda—denunciations of the King's loose living, of courtiers' venality and churchmen's hypocrisy, of merchants' chicanery and women's vanity. Joined to imperfect poetic technique, his excessive moralizings and humourless advocacy of reforms, falling short of real satire, rob his verse of true worth. His adventitious fame rests on *Ane Pleasant Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, the only surviving Scottish morality-play. A prophecy of the victory of Reform over the old regime, the play itself, though of interest to students of the early drama and of conditions in pre-Reformation Scotland, is wooden and unconvincing. Some vignettes of low life, especially in the interludes, —Pauper deluded by the clergy, the Pardoner faking relics, burgess-wives banishing Chastitie, Follie delivering a sermon—almost break through the conventional trappings to achieve reality, and show that Lyndsay might have been a poet had he been less of a preacher.

Medieval Scotland thus produced no prose of merit, a few vernacular and Latin chronicles of antiquarian and philological rather than literary interest, one morality-play which did not rise above current standards, several competent poems in the Chaucerian manner, and some characteristic verse, truly expressive of the national life and mainly the work of three

outstanding poets, James I, Henryson, and Dunbar. No great showing, but, in view of the limitations of time and place, a creditable enough output.

The Reformation and the English Union are often blamed for the wilting of Scottish literary genius and the barrenness of the seventeenth century; we are told that a potent and malignant influence, part Presbyterian, part Anglophile, killed the lovely flower of vernacular literature. What happened was not nearly so simple as that. True, the gradual ousting of Scots and its replacement by English were due to closer contact with the south, to the desire to reach a wider public and to the "English" diction of the common reading stock of Puritans in both countries—the Bible, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Knox's *History* (in later editions), and the *Westminster Standards*. Many Scottish authors made the complete change, while others wrote in a blend of the two forms. Further, the long conflict between the royal or aristocratic and the popular or democratic ideals of Church government and worship, with its vicissitudes, its alternate tyrannies, its hideous crop of hatred and bloodshed, was undoubtedly a deterrent to literary endeavour.

From the welter of Britain's provincial dialects a common language was bound ultimately to emerge, as the centripetal forces overcame separatist tendencies, and it is hard, despite all sentimental regrets, to see how Scots, a variant of northern English, could resist the process of unification and standardization. This much of the charge must be admitted; but it should not be forgotten that the medieval vernacular was far from being the only medium of literate people, nor that benefits as well as loss followed from the general adoption of English. Moreover, to picture the Kirk as essentially anti-cultural is ludicrously unfair; its lofty educational aims, as well as the spiritual vigour of John Knox, the scholastic attainments of Andrew Melville, the civilized moderation of James Melville, or the sweet reasonableness of Robert Baillie, show that, given peace and freedom from persecution, it would foster

arts and letters—as indeed it did in the eighteenth century. Much of the blame for the “drunken scuffle in the dark” must rest with the kings and counsellors who denied the people the sort of Church they wanted, and, if resistance to oppression left little time for the pursuits of civilization, then the oppression rather than the resistance, Laud’s Liturgy and Lauderdale’s dragoons rather than the Covenants and conventicles, are mainly responsible. Obvious enough points, were it not that the modern reaction against excessive eulogies of the Scots reformers sometimes threatens to lose touch with common sense.

Vernacular poetry did not cease with the Reformation, for in the late sixteenth century Sir Richard Maitland, Alexander Scott and Alexander Montgomerie were each able to stand aside from the religious disputes of the time and devote their talents to their art. Like Dunbar, they tried out many different metres—Scott used Burns’s favourite six-line stanza, and Montgomerie the fourteen-line stanza of *The Jolly Beggars* and even the sonnet; and all three revelled in realistic delineation of life and in satirical denunciation of the faults of the age. Maitland, whose chastened melancholy is reminiscent of Henryson, and Scott, essentially the poet of love, wrote many poems whose brevity and pungency still commend them to us. Montgomerie wrote two longish allegories, *The Cherrie and the Slae* and *The Bankis of Helicon*, and indulged in a *Flyting* with Hume of Polwarth, which link him with his Scots forerunners. His version of *Ha! now the Day dawis* is one of our finest sixteenth-century songs. Lacking the inspiration of their greater predecessors, these three poets are in the direct line of the makars, and give the lie to those who would blame the Reformation exclusively for the decay of vernacular poetry in the seventeenth century, to which time belong only Sempill’s *The Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan* and the *Epitaph on Sanny Briggs*, and a few others, like *The Blythesome Bridal*, surviving in later collections and in slightly modernized form. Of those who wrote in English the

most celebrated are the two cavalier-poets, Sir William Alexander, prolix and tedious to modern taste, and William Drummond of Hawthornden, whose sonnets and shorter works are justly preferred to the longer and more artificial poems.

The prose of the time shows the beneficial effects of the changes in religion, politics and language. Latin, as a priestly tongue associated with the fallen Church, went out of favour, and the uncritical and distorted histories of George Buchanan and Bishop Lesley had no successors of like calibre, though Latin continued in use for legal and political tracts, and even for poetry. The best Reformation prose consists of vernacular or English histories and memoirs. Both Knox's *History of the Reformation of Religion*, written in Scots with an English admixture, and Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Historie and Cronickis of Scotland*, in unadulterated vernacular, are readable, fluent and distinguished narratives, enlivened with vivid jests and anecdotes. The first, as the best contemporary account of an important chapter of history, written by the chief actor therein, can be compared only to Cæsar's *Gallic War*; the struggle of the children of light against the kingdom of darkness remains real and vital to us to-day. Pitscottie, though a Protestant, lacked Knox's religious zeal, but his critical and narrative powers are not lessened thereby. First-fruits of the Reformation, the two books worthily mark the beginnings of true Scottish prose. There were soon many others, the best of them James Melville's *Autobiography and Diary*, which is especially pleasing for its homely, vigorous Scots and its humorous tolerance. The Anglicizing process went on apace. In the reign of Charles I, Calderwood's *History* and Baillic's *Letters and Journals* were really written in English, with some traces of the vernacular in words and spelling; whilst Archbishop Spottiswoode and Hume of Godscroft both chose pure English for their histories. All four have literary as well as "source" value. The many theological polemics of the time—disputes between Presbyterians and Episcopalians,

mutual recriminations of Resolutioners and Protesters, and so forth—have no enduring merit, and the best of the non-historical works are William Lithgow's *Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations* and Sir Thomas Urquhart's translation of Rabelais, both in English and both still deemed readable enough to warrant the publication of cheap modern editions. By the time of the Union of the Parliaments prose writers of all kinds, from the fantastic Fletcher of Saltoun to the bigoted Wodrow, had definitely chosen to write in English.

At the opening of the eighteenth century it looked as if Scotsmen would continue to write in English and completely forsake the vernacular. Many did actually figure prominently in British letters, Thomson, Smollett and Boswell, and, even more notably, the three leaders of the Scottish cultural revival, Robertson, Hume and Smith, who, with their roots struck deep in their native soil, addressed themselves impartially to all sections of the British public. This literary advance was largely due to the cessation of serious and prolonged religious strife, and its exponents, studiously "moderate" in outlook, frowned on Covenanting "enthusiasm" and regarded dispassionate enlightenment as the great achievement of their age. The absence of religious persecution and absorbing conflicts had also something to do with a stranger development—the revival of the seemingly moribund vernacular cult.

The stages in that revival show it to have been the result of a spontaneous uprush of the popular will, and not the work of an esoteric or academic group. From 1706 onwards anthologies with original additions stimulated widespread interest and before long William Hamilton, Lady Wardlaw, Lady Grizel Baillie and others were pleasing the public with poems and songs in the manner of the old makars. The leading part in the revival fell to an Edinburgh bookseller of great versatility and local standing. Allan Ramsay best typifies the movement and yet his most ambitious poem, *The Gentle Shepherd*, if Scottish in scenery and diction, derives rather from English pastorals and is associated

with the English Romantic Revival. Ramsay's dual interests appear in many of his songs and explain why they were as popular with London as with Edinburgh audiences, but his purely Scottish significance is unmistakable. From about 1711 till 1736 he was collecting, amending, composing and publishing vernacular poems, and *The Evergreen*, old poems with additions by the editor, and *The Tea-Table Miscellany* of songs old and new found many readers. In the depicting of low life, in realistic scenes from the streets and taverns of the capital, he wrote like the makars and even, in lack of fastidiousness, outstripped them. Alewives are prominent among his characters, his additions to *Christis Kirk on the Grein* do anything but elevate its tone of rude rusticity, whilst *The Last Speech of a Wretched Miser* is unsurpassed in Scots for brutal frankness.

Ramsay's contemporary and rival, Alexander Pennecuik, another grim satirist, was a lesser man, but the same cannot be said of his successor, Robert Fergusson, dead at twenty-four through drink, ill-health, non-recognition and a morbid temperament. In genius and character, in life and death, he strikingly resembles Burns, and it is a truism to say that anyone but a real expert might mistake the authorship of Fergusson's little masterpieces, *Auld Reekie*, *Leith Races*, *Hallow Fair* and *The Daft Days*. This leads us to the real significance of Burns's achievement—his indebtedness to his forerunners, his decision to place himself in the line of the makars; to deny the overwhelming influence of his poetic heritage is as futile as to try to bowdlerize the virile and earthy peasant poet. Consciously and gratefully Burns chose his models from the past, which lives again in his songs and epistles, in his satirical outbursts and his very metres. This is far from detracting from the greatness of the poet, for few things would have given him more pride and pleasure than the fore-knowledge that posterity would regard him as the man who was found worthy to bring the vernacular cult to its climax and swansong. His poetry does

indeed sum up the work of his predecessors, and informs it with the gift that was vouchsafed to him and denied to all the others—to reach the heart of man as well as the ear and the brain. Without any flight of extravagant fancy we can hear the authentic voice of James I in *Hallowe'en*, of Henryson in *Duncan Gray* or *Man Was Made to Mourn*, of Dunbar in *Tam O' Shanter* and *Death and Doctor Hornbook*, of Lyndsay (but how changed !) in *The Twa Dogs* and even in *Holy Willie's Prayer*, of Sempill in *Tam Samson's Elegy*, of Ramsay in songs and epistles, in *The Jolly Beggars* and *The Holy Fair*, of Fergusson in *Hallowe'en*, *Scotch Drink*, *The Inventory*, in the elegies and occasional poems, and in any number of subtler ways.

In respect of values other than literary Burns's influence on the Scotland of the immediate past has been immense. His songs crystallized the folk-music at its best, whilst some of his poems, deeply sympathetic to the democratic and revolutionary movements of his day, expressed, in language intelligible to his meanest readers, the essential radicalism of the people and had profound if indirect effects upon the course of nineteenth-century Liberalism and even twentieth-century Socialism. Closely connected therewith are the social and religious aspects of his work. Writing during the early part of the Industrial Revolution and more sensitive than most to its immediate evils in the living conditions of the people, he never tired of pillorying corruption, greed, ambition and oppression in high places, and he must be regarded as one of the foster-fathers of the humanitarian legislation aimed at the correction of the grosser abuses of factory-work, over-population and slums. Moreover, Burns's best satires were those in which he mocked clerical arrogance and hypocrisy—*The Ordination*, *Address to the Deil*, *Address to the Unco' Guid*, *The Twa Herds*, *Holy Willie's Prayer* and *The Kirk's Alarm*—and, though the days of ecclesiastical infallibility were past, he made impossible for the future the recrudescence of Calvinistic "Hildebrandism" or theocratic excesses of any kind. Religious

bigotry and self-righteousness were on the wane, as is seen in the more moderate claims of both protagonists in the Disruption, and the keen edge of the poet's scorn helped on the welcome change. In the hearts of the people Burns came to occupy a place once held by Knox, and, though considerations like these may seem extraneous to our subject, they are indeed strictly relevant to a study of Scottish culture, which, abjuring æsthetic and emotional heights, has always been in closest relationship, both as cause and effect, with the national life.

Though the Scots vernacular reached its culminating glory with Burns, its literary use did not entirely cease with his death. Not only is it scattered with good effect through the works of authors like James Hogg and Sir Walter Scott, it is even possible to trace a continuous and conscious cult through the poems of Robert Tannahill and the songs of Lady Nairne down to the recent work of Charles Murray and Miss Violet Jacob, to say nothing of the annual output of the bards of every village Burns Club. A vernacular revival is sometimes talked about, though its prophets are divided over the question of just what dialect is to be revived. Most of them probably have the eighteenth century "braid Scots" in mind, but some extremists, contending that Burns was a traitor and a renegade, advocate a return to the Scots of Dunbar (are they conversant with the language which they glibly commend to their compatriots?). The discussion is academic, for the movement is necessarily barren, esoteric, artificial and futile. Most of us enjoy Burns's poetry for itself, regarding it as the climax of a great tradition, and expecting a talented Scotsman of to-day to write well in English as our forbears expected good vernacular verse from a makar.

Others, basing their hope of a literary renaissance on Gaelic, enlarge on the proposition that Scotland, having two languages, should learn to use both. Only in a very limited sense is this true; it is painfully clear from the national records that the vast bulk of Scotsmen for

long regarded the speech of the "wild Scottis" of the glens with the prejudiced hostility of ignorance. Highland culture was something alien to that of the majority and, indeed, until the eighteenth century the clan bards were under the influence of Irish literature, language and ideas. In the second half of that century true Gaelic literature first appears, and it is in part linked with the clans' devotion to the Jacobite cause. Thus the poet Alexander Macdonald, whose works were the first to be printed in Gaelic (1751), was a Jacobite, whilst Duncan Ban MacIntyre, though fighting as a Whig, composed Jacobite songs. Other writings, however, like Dugald Buchanan's popular hymns, cannot easily be connected with contemporary Scotland, and all that impinged on the outside world was Macpherson's largely spurious Ossianic "translations." There have been Gaelic authors since then, but the small and diminishing number of their readers has consigned them to secondary importance, and the chief approach to Gaelic letters for Scotland as a whole remains the admirable translations of Mrs. Kennedy Fraser. The prospect of a literary revival along this line, then, seems as illusory as human hopes can well be.

Yet another group of writers interested in a Scottish renaissance regard English as the natural linguistic medium, and the record of the immediate past shows such hopes to have a firmer foundation, for it cannot be said that the outstanding Scottish writers of the nineteenth century who used English renounced their national background. Sir Walter Scott, the greatest of them, has had his adverse critics, but has yet to be accused of lack of patriotism. He is, indeed, the perfect link between Scottish and British literature. His ballads, as we saw, enshrine in modernized form chosen fragments of ancient minstrelsy, whilst his original poetry, not now so highly esteemed as formerly, is Scottish in feeling and subject, though English in form. His novels, on which his fame depends, are really part of an English cult, though those of them which are Scottish in theme and spirit, like *Waverley*,

Guy Mannering or *Old Mortality*, are admittedly superior to those with less familiar settings, such as *Ivanhoe*, *Talisman* or *Kenilworth*. Lockhart chose an undeniably patriotic theme for his great biography, and Stevenson laid the scene of many tales in his native land. Though the one was preceded in his own field by Boswell, and the other by Scott himself, their works owe their success to the blending of Scottish inspiration with English methods. So too with Carlyle, the champion of the individualist interpretation of history, for Scotland, fertile in historical writings, had hitherto produced no philosophy of history; if his impassioned search for sincerity and virility led Carlyle to study far afield, he approached his theme with the fervour and self-righteousness of a son of the Covenant.

Names like these recall the fact that Scotland's contribution to "English" literature has been considerable in volume, as well as truly national in tone. But there are large gaps, and on the side of poetry in particular the recent Scottish tradition has been weak. The decay of the vernacular and the insignificance of Gaelic poetry have not been compensated for by any notable body of Scots verse in English. Amid a lot of ephemeral prose and poetry, James Hogg wrote a few ballads and songs which have deservedly endured the passage of over a century. The martial and patriotic verse of his contemporary, Thomas Campbell, find a respectable and assured place in most anthologies, but Campbell became a Londoner and his poems have little that is Scottish in theme or treatment. To the middle of the century belong Aytoun's *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, once very popular in the schoolroom, though hardly to be acclaimed great poetry. Aytoun was followed by some half-dozen minor poets like the Smiths, Alexander and Walter, Buchanan, Mackay and Blackie, little known to-day. With Stevenson, as with Scott, poetry played a part much inferior to prose. At the end of the century Logie Robertson pleased his readers and held out a promise which has hardly been realized. And to-day the poetry of Hugh MacDiarmid

and Lewis Grassie Gibbon, though highly praised by the critics, somehow fails to attract interest or exercise influence in any sense comparable to that of other literary productions, even of the same writers.

Recent Scottish prose has been more impressive both in quantity and quality. In addition to Scott, Lockhart, Carlyle and Stevenson, many authors have attained distinction in a variety of fields. If the leaders of the earlier "Scottish Philosophy" had no adequate successors in more recent times, the twentieth century saw the maturing powers of two pleasing "lay" philosophers, the Earl of Balfour and Viscount Haldane. Literary criticism in the early years of the nineteenth century is mainly associated with the work contributed to the *Edinburgh* and *Blackwood's* and, at its close, with the monumental erudition of Professor David Masson. As at all times, historical scholarship has flourished and has achieved fluency, readability and real literary value in the works of at least two writers, Patrick Fraser Tytler and Andrew Lang. Churchmen like Thomas Chalmers, Norman Macleod, or Principal Tulloch, scientists like Hugh Miller, Sir Charles Lyell, or Lord Kelvin, had often more than a bowing acquaintance with literature, though their chief interests were necessarily elsewhere. But, with the novel now sufficiently elastic to include fantasy, romance, history, realism and propaganda, Scottish literature, like any other, must stand or fall by its output of fiction.

A late-comer in all countries, the novel was especially so in Scotland, which had no Boccaccio or Rabelais, no Malory or Bunyan. The first Scotsman to make the effort, Smollett, found the fashion well established in England through the work of Defoe, Richardson and Fielding, to whose company he obviously belongs. Some time later Henry Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* and *Man of the World* were not only published but read; their present universal neglect is a powerful commendation of modern taste. Scott's debt to earlier Scottish writers was therefore infinitesimal, and this makes the achievement of the Waverley novels all the more

remarkable. Whilst it would be going too far to say that he fixed the type of the entire novel-form, it is true that his work has served as a model for historical and romantic tales—stories depending for their interest on the faithful re-creation of past scenes and on the gradual unfolding of an interrelated and often complex series of events, the "plot." His influence has been immense abroad as at home, nor has it been confined to authors with a genius and temperament akin to his own; if his stories inspired Dumas to do the like for France, they were also admired and studied by Dostoievsky in connection with a wholly different work, the creation of the novel of realism and psychological introspection.

Though no other Scottish novelist has approached Scott in popular favour, some of his contemporaries were far from negligible. At a time when his interests still lay in poetry, Miss Hamilton's *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* presented a fairly accurate and readable account of village life, and, while the Waverley novels were having their great success, Susan Ferrier, a sort of malicious Scottish Jane Austen, published *The Inheritance* and *Destiny*. John Galt's amazing output is now largely forgotten, except for a few of his best stories, especially *The Annals of the Parish* and *The Provost*, convincing pictures respectively of manse and municipal life. The middle years of the century, in the novel as in poetry, are essentially the time of "minor" works, old-time favourites now seldom read, like the stories of Aytoun and Mrs. Oliphant, Whyte-Melville's tales of country and sporting life, George Macdonald's saccharine stories of peasant life and James Grant's military and historical novels, *The Romance of War* and *The Yellow Frigate*. Of far greater endowments and wider interests than these lesser lights, Robert Louis Stevenson could surpass any of them in the creation of a truly Scottish atmosphere, as he did in *Kidnapped*, perhaps the finest of his romances, and yet he was enough of a literary cosmopolitan to write not only the blood-curdling *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, but also a few short stories, like *A Lodging for the Night* and *The*

Sire de Malétroit's Door, in every way worthy of a Maupassant or a Chekhov.

The vogue for conventional Scottish settings and traditional types—minister, elder, craftsman and "worthy"—grew as the century drew to its close, and the last decade was the heyday of the Kailyarders. Sir James Barrie's *Window in Thrums* and *The Little Minister*, marred by sentimental prosing, were the best of their kind and had a great English as well as Scottish success; Crockett's *The Stickit Minister* and *The Raiders*, freely abused in modern days, were far from being the worst, though fortunately the really deplorable performances were relegated to the obscure pages of journals deliberately catering for the tastes of the uncritical. As the new century opened these perverse travesties of literature were finally discredited by the publication of George Douglas Brown's *The House with the Green Shutters*. Brown, like Fergusson and Burns dead before reaching his prime, lived long enough to give us one novel, not only significant as the herald of the return of reality to Scots letters, but powerful and terrible in itself, a grim but not distorted picture of the seamy side of village life, a study in tragic destiny informed by a thoroughly Greek sense of the ineluctability of fate.

If it is impossible, in view of the difficulty of reaching a true perspective, to claim enduring worth for many books of our time, it is still clear that the first third of the twentieth century has produced some nine or ten novelists of varied but definite appeal. Priority in time goes to two competent writers of romances, the late Neil Munro, the first to exploit the possibilities of the "Celtic" background, and Mr. John Buchan, whose scholarly equipment and narrative power are seen to best advantage in his historical tales. Mr. Neil Gunn has also given pleasing delineations of Highland life and character. Wholly different is the work of Mr. Norman Douglas, indebted to Scotland, apparently, for little more than his birth; his *South Wind* is an ultra-modern compôte of disillusionment, rejection of

conventionality and cynical amusement over human frailty. Scotland's slender tradition of the short story is continued by Mr. Cunninghame Graham, who, with a wealth of romantic personal experience, has drawn on his native land for settings and characters, and by Mrs. Mitchison, thoroughly at home in mythology and classical history. If Dr. Cronin's *Hatter's Castle*, one of the literary "sensations" of 1931, was more than usually inspired by an earlier work—*The House with the Green Shutters*,—others have struck out on completely new lines. Mr. Compton Mackenzie's writings take us far afield, whilst, for the venting of his sharp and malicious wit, Mr. Eric Linklater shows studied impartiality as between Scotland, England and America. There are thus not a few talented Scottish authors, mostly vigorous young men and women, who think and write seriously of modern life and have a wide and varied range of interests; hence, when they turn to the Scottish scene, they do so with a freshness of outlook, an awareness of the world, such as have been lacking for several generations.

This last factor operates powerfully in the case of Mr. Lewis Grassie Gibbon, whose culture and learning, reinforcing an ardent and unaffected love of his country, bring him clarity of vision and enable him to depict the Scottish *milieu* in its just proportions; but the easy flow, the effortless grace, of his style, the charm of a quaintly original and yet wholly natural diction, the ability to awaken and retain the reader's interest in persons and events characteristically Scottish but of enduring and universal appeal—these are qualities which mark the genuine creative artist. *Sunset Song*, *Cloud Howe* and *Grey Granite*, forming the trilogy, *A Scots Quair*, bear the stamp of authentic genius; in them the Scottish countryside, village and town are brought vividly before us, without a suggestion of either concealment or exaggeration. Here is the answer to jeremiads over Scotland's wilting nationality; the answer, too, to the question of the literary uses of the vernacular—unobtrusively and inevitably the Scots

words take their place in a book which should bring delight to the Englishman, Canadian, American or Australian as well as to the Scotsman. Ambitious in scope but thoroughly convincing, Mr. Gibbon's great work, truer because both wider and deeper than *The House with the Green Shutters*, is as surely the testimony of a twentieth-century makar as were, for a vastly different age, the poems of Henryson or Dunbar; to talk of literary stagnation in its presence is to be oblivious of the essential values of truth and beauty.

Scotland's record is, on the whole, better in letters than in the arts. There has been no real stoppage during the five and a half centuries which have elapsed between the writing of the *Brus* and our own day. The check administered by the religious conflicts to vernacular poetry, which truly expressed the national outlook as long as the dialect was in common use, was only a temporary one, and there is consolation in the fact that the same epoch witnessed the real beginnings of Scottish prose, which has come to mean more and more with the decline of poetry. Alongside the vernacular, which was employed for literary purposes for four hundred years, other languages were used by authors who desired to be read outside as well as within Scotland. For two centuries Latin was favoured by many serious students, but from the very start—and continuously—English had its votaries. To identify the national interests exclusively with one of these linguistic media is absurd—Major or Knox or Scott was obviously as good a patriot as Dunbar or Pitscottie or Burns. Having regard to the historical, social and economic conditions from which it sprang, we may conclude that Scottish literature has both a worthy tradition of past achievement and fair prospects of continued vitality.

At first glance it might appear that medieval Scotland was well provided for in educational matters. The Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen were established during the fifteenth century, were fostered by kings, princes and bishops, and attracted

students from foreign lands as well as from Scotland. The oldest of them, St. Andrews, had eventually three colleges. As for schools, it is often assumed that the churchmen were great educators, and we do indeed hear of them maintaining almonry schools, novices' classes and song schools. Some of the larger burghs supported grammar schools, whilst James IV's oft-quoted Education Act directed nobles and lairds to have their sons taught at school and college to equip themselves for the discharge of their judicial duties. The presumption is that Scotland, a poor and backward state, did well by the youth of the nation.

A closer examination refutes any such complacent judgment. Barons and lairds, displaying the worst traits of a feudal nobility, disregarded their moral obligations—Bell-the-Cat's proverbial boast is thoroughly typical of the whole order. Industry and trade were limited, and even the largest towns never able to afford more than a pittance as schoolmaster's salary or school-rent, so that the few burgh schools, suffering from chronic neglect, never played a big part. Most of the Jameses were sincerely interested and did their best, but were kept too busy by an insolent baronage to achieve much. The duty consequently devolved upon the Church, and the latest critical examination of the evidence (by Dr. Coulton in *Scottish Abbeys and Social Life*) shows that popular exaggeration and a general readiness to take assumption for truth have given a distorted view of how the obligation was discharged.

Since education in general was *not* specifically the monks' business, it is not wholly fair to blame them for the rarity, the poor quality or the professional nature of their teaching, but some salient facts must be stressed on account of popular misconceptions. Novices were taught to read and speak Latin, to learn the elements of the Christian faith and to know the monastic regulations. Something like a grammar school course was available at the larger monasteries for young monks and for "poor clerks," though fees were actually payable by the latter; almonry schools were run for profit. Of

non-technical teaching exceedingly little is recorded, and even within the Church's chosen sphere things were not as they should be. "There is," says Dr. Coulton, "little evidence for monastic learning in Scotland, apart from the ordinary routine of church services and ritual." Chartularies and obit-books, necessary for business, were kept, but chronicles very seldom. "Neglect is the real cause, in Scotland as in other European countries. First, neglect to write at all; and, then, neglect to preserve what the predecessors had written."

The Church produced some learned men, like Laurence of Lindores, Bishops Kennedy and Elphinstone, John Major and Hector Boece, but the general standard of education was low. The Provincial Councils of 1549, 1552 and 1559 showed to what a pass things had come. Church schools simply did not do their work, and the ridiculous figure of the stammering, Latin-less priest was the result of their negligence. The wider curricula of the universities, enabling the student to become a bachelor of arts after two years and a master after four, inculcated a knowledge of Latin and an acquaintance with the sterile, debased Aristotelianism of the schoolmen. Staffed by clergymen for the training of new clergymen, they were incorporations of qualified priests as well as students—which explains why many matriculated who did not graduate or have any intention of doing so. Records are scrappy, but the best of them, those for St. Andrews (recently edited for the Scottish History Society by Dr. Maitland Anderson), show that in an average year there some forty might matriculate, while perhaps two dozen became licentiates and one dozen masters of arts. There is no doubt, however, that clergymen did not take advantage of the facilities offered; the rule that the larger monasteries should send a few members to college was openly flouted, and the Provincial Councils were unable to remedy matters.

The most pleasing features of the medieval Scottish universities were their quasi-democratic tone and their

willingness to accept almost anyone regardless of social standing or wealth. Following the continental model, not that of England's "master colleges," the students were organized in four nations for the election of their champion and leader, the rector. Thus at St. Andrews there were the nations of Alban, Angus, Fife and Lothian, at Glasgow, Clydesdale, Teviotdale, Rothesay and Alban, and at Aberdeen, Mar, Buchan, Moray and Angus. In the early years all students voted freely for their rector, but later their privileges were everywhere restricted until the choosing of the rector—a distinguished clergymen who might or might not be a member of the staff—became a mere formality. Fees and living expenses were low, though not low enough for all. The custom grew up of entering the name of any student who was honestly unable to pay his fee as *pauper*, a term with an exact meaning but no social stigma: he promised to pay later on, when things had mended for him—"no honest seeker after knowledge," in the words of Dr. Maitland Anderson, "being turned away from the best the University could give him, whether he could afford to pay for it or not."

On the whole, however, the Scottish schools and universities were no better than the Church from which most of them sprang, and they shared in its decay during the later Middle Ages. Here, as elsewhere, Protestants were able to point the finger of scorn at Romanist failures, the reformers promised radical changes and the First Book of Discipline included a considered and comprehensive scheme of educational reorganization. Avowing complete responsibility, the new Kirk planned universities, theological colleges and grammar schools, and kept steadily in view the ideal of one school for every parish. The Scots minister, whatever may be said against him, was an incomparably better scholar than the medieval priest. He invited rather than discouraged criticism, and the impulse towards improvement came from him. Andrew Melville, during a six years' headship of Glasgow University, put that institution ahead of any foreign

rival in learning and culture. With the wealth of the old Church dilapidated and confiscated, however, the Kirk had to face long years of grinding poverty followed by almost a century of ecclesiastical strife. Andrew Melville, dragged away (not too unwillingly, be it said) from his fruitful work at Glasgow to his bitter and sordid conflict with James VI, is a tragic symbol of the Kirk's unfulfilled potentialities. Later on, the ignorance of the lower clergy after the Restoration was a by-word, and even the Revolution brought difficulties, since it was hard to find, on short notice and after a generation of disfavour and suppression, Presbyterians of the needed calibre for educational rehabilitation. Inevitably there was a time-lag in the necessary reforms and the eighteenth century was well advanced before improvements were made. Hence for nearly two centuries after the Reformation Scottish education suffered from a cramping environment.

On behalf of the schools legislation at least was plentiful, as witness the great Education Act of 1696, which obliged the heritors in each parish to maintain a school with a salaried schoolmaster, and the frequent references in burgh records to the hiring of teachers, the fixing of salaries, the allowance of "chalmers-mail" in lieu of a house and the imposition of special "stents." Private schools were discouraged, since they competed with the tax-aided burgh and parish schools. These two last had each their specific work to do. Pupils between the ages of seven and nine attended the parish or "English" schools to learn the reading and writing of English and simple arithmetic, and, if they went on to the burgh or grammar schools, devoted perhaps five years to acquiring the knowledge of Latin which was expected of University entrants. Hours of study were very long—from early morning until six in the afternoon, with breakfast and dinner intervals—and the Saturday half-holiday only became customary in the eighteenth century, when, also, the opening hour was put back to eight or nine o'clock. Sundays saw the pupils still regimented under the master's care for

church services, and summer holidays lasted only one or two weeks, though country children had to be excused during the harvest. The children paid their fees directly to their master and were accustomed to bring straw for the floors, peats for the fires and occasional special gifts like fighting-cocks at Fastern's E'en. The schoolmaster, by acting as parish-registrar and session-clerk, was often able to eke out his quarterly fees, which might amount to one shilling from each pupil in the parish schools, half-a-crown in the grammar schools.

The actual working of the system was greatly prejudiced by lack of funds and the heritors' unwillingness to spend. Even well-peopled Lowland parishes were frequently without a school, whilst in the Highlands, despite the useful work of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, illiteracy remained the rule rather than the exception down to the early nineteenth century. The heart-breaking handicaps under which the old-time dominie worked have often been described. His statutory salary varied between 100 merks—about £5 11s. sterling—and 200 merks—£11 2s. With perquisites and fees his annual income averaged only £10, which had risen, according to a schoolmasters' petition to the General Assembly, to £13 by 1782. This stipend was not always forthcoming, for even town councils found it hard to collect the stents by instalments and compromised with the master of the grammar school by part-payment. He had no security of tenure, being appointed for a year at a time or even for shorter periods. The kirk, or an odd room, barn, or stable frequently did duty as a school, and tumbling roofs, walls or entire buildings were not uncommon. Alike for master and pupil everything militated against comfort, health and success, and the wonder is that Scotsmen did somehow contrive to be educated.

In the Universities, too, the Reformation had failed to produce the expected changes. True, the late sixteenth century saw the foundation of Edinburgh

University and of Marischal College at Aberdeen, which gave that town the unique distinction of housing two universities. Further, the numbers of students rose, until St. Andrews and Aberdeen had each about one hundred and Glasgow and Edinburgh perhaps three hundred. Melville's reforms at Glasgow, though he lacked time to make them truly effective, had resulted in the adoption by all four of a somewhat wider curriculum in arts, notably the inclusion of Greek. Students, entering at the age of fourteen or fifteen, devoted their first or "bejant" year to Greek and the remaining three, with some local variations, to Logic, Ethics and Natural Philosophy; the bachelor's degree had been largely laid aside. But teaching suffered from grave defects carried over from the Middle Ages. The arts course was largely formalized Aristotelianism and lectures were delivered in Latin, devoid of freshness and (despite the grammar schools) only half-understood by the listeners. Above all, the system of regents survived Melville's contrary reforms: one master conducted a whole class through its four years' course, even though, no Aristotle himself, he was obviously unfit to teach all the subjects adequately. Regents, indeed, were often underpaid clergymen, glad to take another charge when they could—their salaries, eked out by class fees, averaged £25 to £30 per year, whilst principals, if lucky, might get £60 to £90. By continued transgression against student-rights, eligibility for and the right of electing to the rectorship had become vested in the Senate.

The only praiseworthy survival from medieval tradition was the availability of a college education, such as it was, for the very poor. The old cloistered atmosphere remained, with curfew regulations and the hebdomadar, a sort of "orderly regent," conducting "perustrations," or rounds of inspection, most of the students living rent-free in college chambers and paying only for their board, class fees, fuel, lighting and incidentals. Their expenses were reduced through the continuous cutting down of the length of the session,

which extended from October to May by the mid-eighteenth century. At that time Dr. Johnson found that the wealthier students could live and learn for £15 during the whole session; but it is clear that their poorer fellows could get along on £9 or less. The staple diet was porridge and the meal sack an integral part of the student's equipment; meat, potatoes, milk and butter were extras, if not luxuries. Lecture hours were many, college rules strict, Saturdays and even Sundays work-days, and the path of learning a thorny one.

In the other faculties things were very much worse than in arts. Indeed, law and medicine were simply not provided for as college courses, so that young men intending to take up one of them apprenticed themselves to advocates or medical practitioners. Not till 1727 was the equivocal but time-hallowed alliance between barbers and surgeons split up; as assistant to a surgeon-apothecary the student acquired ideas thoroughly in keeping with the old wives' tales which passed for medical knowledge. No lectures were given on anatomy or medicine, midwifery was in women's hands and the licensing system chaotic. The medical student, if he were able, followed the example of his legal fellow in repairing to one of the great Continental schools, especially those of Holland. Divinity was little better. Hebrew had been introduced largely through Melville's efforts, but, since neither it nor ecclesiastical history was a compulsory class, the divinity course need be nothing more than a long series of Latin harangues on standardized text-books.

About 1700 real improvement began, working down from the universities to the parish schools. The regent system was replaced by the professorial—each teacher being responsible for one subject instead of one class—in 1708 at Edinburgh, and eventually at all others. In 1729 the experiment was made at Glasgow of lecturing in English instead of Latin, and this change was before long almost universal. Latin and Greek professors were appointed, Newtonian physics were taught and

Bacon and Locke came to reinforce Aristotle. The nation's cultural awakening was both a cause and an effect of the academic reforms. The Scots universities could boast of dozens of eminent and really able professors, of whom Adam Smith, Blair and Reid were the most distinguished, and whose finest product was the Scottish Philosophy, taught, read and admired by all Europe. Divinity was reinvigorated by being based on compulsory Hebrew, Edinburgh established chairs of law, botany, anatomy, medicine and chemistry, Glasgow followed suit, and, before the end of the century, far from Scots students having to go abroad, foreigners were coming over, especially to Edinburgh.

As "Moderatism" prevailed over Sabbatarianism, academic discipline was somewhat relaxed and holidays like Christmas, New Year and the first Monday of every month crept in. Collegiate supervision of the students was still irksome, and this, in conjunction with improved outside lodgings, a large increase in numbers and the outmoding of the old dormitories and dining halls, led to the decay of the practice of living-in in three of the university towns. At St. Andrews it lingered on into the nineteenth century, but the "common tables" were dropped in 1820, very few used the college chambers, and the rebuilding of the quadrangle implied the disappearance of the old ways of life. Despite these changes, tuition and boarding costs remained low everywhere, as may be seen from the surviving accounts of one Duncan Dewar (edited by Sir Peter Scott-Lang), who was an arts and divinity student at St. Andrews from 1819 to 1827. Dewar was a far from wealthy Perthshire youth who came late to college—he was eighteen years old on entrance—and yet his expenses included, in addition to rent, food, coal, candles, oil, books, clothes and travelling costs, items not strictly necessary like hats, gloves, breast-pin, snuff, sweets, whisky, silk handkerchiefs, gifts and entertainments. His total outlay during seven years was only £101, or just over £14 per annum, towards which he received £33 in bursaries. His case is typical

rather of the student who must be careful in his spending than of the really poor boy. The education he received was clearly far in advance of what would have been the case 100 years earlier. He had two years each of Latin, Greek and Mathematics, courses in Logic, Moral Philosophy and Natural Philosophy, and some additional instruction in Geography, French, Elocution and English, whilst his B.D. curriculum comprised Theology, Divinity and Biblical Criticism, Ecclesiastical History and Oriental Languages.

In the schools changes came more slowly. As educational needs expanded with the population, the animus against private schools slackened, and dame-schools, singing-schools and sewing-schools appeared in the smaller towns. Communities of Episcopalians and seceding Presbyterians had schools of their own, although the teachers, with no session clerk's fees to help, were even more dependent on congregational good will. The chief improvement came quietly as better educated college men became available as teachers. This in turn gave rise to demands for better pay and led at last to the Schoolmasters' Act of 1802 which fixed the minimum salary at £16 13s. 4d. and the maximum at £22 4s. 6d. and obliged the heritors to find the dominie's pay and a two-roomed house and garden. If this hardly represented affluence, the Act was the first step in the great nineteenth-century advance.

The present university system rests largely on the studies and recommendations of the Commissions of 1826, 1858 and 1889, reorganizing curricula, providing for appointments and regulating the powers of the various governing bodies—Chancellor, Rector, Principal, Senate, Court, General Council and Students' Representative Council. Some measure of State control has been introduced, by way rather of co-ordination than subordination and certainly much gentler in nature than in the schools, which, after all, receive twenty times as much from the Treasury. During this period Aberdeen's two colleges were amalgamated as one University and the University

College, Dundee, was brought into the St. Andrews system. More noteworthy than individual acts of union is the tendency of the four Universities to act as a team. They are similarly placed as regards staff appointments, salaries and superannuation, students' fees, curricula and even living conditions, and many likenesses are due to their constant consultations and joint decisions. Co-operation has proved highly beneficial, for all four have had new, similar and financially burdensome problems to face in common. In part these have been the result of the demand for the costlier and more technical branches of education, in part they have risen from the altered nature of the student-body itself. From the late eighteenth century onwards the reforms determined for all time the divergence of the Scottish universities from the path pursued by Oxford and Cambridge, whither it became usual for the sons of the nobility and the well-to-do to go, leaving their less wealthy fellows to the simpler fare and the harder life of the national institutions, which, also, were thrown open to women during the 'nineties. The number of those who availed themselves of the opportunities offered at home rose until it reached the post-War figure of over 10,000 for the four Universities, which consequently have a very large part to play in the national life.

Beyond a doubt the main cause of this great increase is the fact that, in accordance with the tradition of 500 years, the poor student is as well cared for as ever—even better than in Duncan Dewar's day. The establishment in the beginning of the present century of the Carnegie Trust, which pays a large part of the fees, and the institution of county council grants and bursaries have meant generous aid for the less well-to-do. A recent tendency, especially at St. Andrews, has been the revival of college residence halls, but the normal type of modern Scots student is the youth who lives either at home or in cheap lodgings. The location of the largest universities in the big cities and the reduced costs of travelling have brought a college education

almost within reach of all. Whilst few will cavil at this state of affairs, either on historical or realistic grounds, those who are truly acquainted with the universities of to-day know well that an entrance test requiring a higher standard of scholarly attainments is a real *desideratum*.

The courses of study have undergone considerable alterations. The core of the arts curriculum remains as of old—Latin, Logic and Mathematics—but the insertion of options and alternatives and the addition of linguistic, historical and scientific subjects have produced such elasticity that no one subject is really compulsory. The development of law and medicine has been all in the direction of technical specialization; so too with newer faculties like science, engineering and commerce. In divinity the need was mainly that of making the old system effective. The Free Church founded colleges of its own, which are now, in accordance with the reunion, in process of amalgamation with the universities' faculties of divinity.

Changes in the schools have been more radical, since much more had still to be done after 1800. Government grants began soon after 1832 and became dependent on the schools' submission to State inspection. At that time presbyteries also undertook examining work, and much interest was focussed on the politico-religious cause of Church Extension, whereby the Church of Scotland hoped to evangelize the whole nation in an educational sense. Much of the driving force of the movement, however, was lost to the Church at the Disruption, and the Free Church started to found its own schools all over the country. Division and rivalry paved the way for the Education Act of 1872, which transferred Presbyterian schools to the school-boards and left Episcopalians and Catholics to run their "voluntary" institutions. In 1918 State control was completed by the absorption of the voluntary schools, with religious safeguards, the establishment of Education Authorities for large areas—counties and the four large cities—and the institution of

grants to poor children for books and food and of bursaries for university study. The Local Government Act of 1929 abolished the *ad hoc* authorities and vested their powers in the county councils and the town councils of the four cities ; supreme control still went to the Scottish Education Department. Religious and private enterprise has thus been replaced by the state administration of practically all the Scottish schools—for the few "public" schools of the English type have necessarily played a small part in the national life. Concurrently the old-time classical training has given way to instruction in general knowledge and some acquaintance with languages or sciences. These factors, together with the free, compulsory education of all children up to the age of fourteen, have governed the evolution of the existing system of elementary and secondary schools. One hears occasional expressions of regret for vanished independence and relaxed discipline, and of dissatisfaction with current trends towards standardization, but the truth is that the old methods, besides being utterly unworkable in the late nineteenth century, had little to commend themselves beyond their "open door" policy toward poor boys, and that characteristic, at least, has been preserved and extended.

On the whole, therefore, educational progress, if slow in the medieval and post-Reformation periods, was good and rapid from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, and the Scottish nation may well congratulate itself on the facilities offered to its sons in the face of real difficulties. Formal education, however, is only one of several possible channels for the diffusion of culture, although earlier centuries came much nearer to depending upon it than does our own time. It may well be that a great future awaits the cinema and the radio as educative forces, but in the past the chief agencies in this direction, other than schoolroom and college, have been the stage and the press.

Many records, especially national, ecclesiastical and burghal accounts, show that in the Middle Ages some

attention was paid to the drama, but, in the absence of survivals beyond Lyndsay's *Pleasant Satyre*, it is permissible to infer that no great merit attached to the productions of the day and that the Scottish stage failed to break away from the routine mediocrity of miracle and morality plays. After the Reformation times were out of joint for "trifling" playwrights and actors, and conditions only improved with the eighteenth century "Enlightenment." In the judgment of his contemporaries John Home's *Douglas* proved that on the dramatic side, as in other respects, the age was one of great achievement. Posterity has failed to sustain that verdict, believing that credit accrued to the performance mainly from the fact that the clerical calling of the author and many of his admirers constituted a direct challenge to religious prejudice.

The nineteenth century produced almost no plays of even third-rate merit until Sir James Barrie exploited the accepted types of the Kailyard school on the stage. From his overdone sentimentality the post-War generation has reacted vigorously, though the box-office aspects of *Peter Pan* or *Mary Rose* afford critics and detractors grounds for envy as well as denunciation. To-day we see feverish attempts to supply the age-long deficiencies of the Scots drama, and this country shares with others the habit of deploring the perennial difficulties besetting the path of cultural revivals and the sluggish indifference of the multitude to their own spiritual welfare. There is always a gambling element in Repertory and "Little" Theatre movements, and yet groups like the Masque Theatre, the Scottish National Players and the Arts League of Service do awaken interest, whilst Community Drama Festivals are increasingly popular and successful. Of actual playwrights "James Bridie," John Brandane, Robins Millar, and "Gordon Daviot" have found favour, though it would be premature to call any of them a genius. If the impatient search for a "new and true form of national self-expression" may lead to ridiculous posing on the part of some devotees, dramatic art in

Scotland, despite facile sneers anent Anglicization and Americanization, is obviously awake and stirring in an unprecedented manner.

If recent trends foreshadow the end of lethargy for the Scottish stage, some would have it that the reverse applies to the press—that modern periodical literature is unworthy of a great past. Its rise must be attributed to the needs of the polite and sophisticated world of society which came into being soon after the Union. The first quarter of the eighteenth century saw the capital supplied with two news-sheets of the kind current in London. One of them, the *Edinburgh Courant*, lived on till late in the nineteenth century and the other, the *Caledonian Mercury*, was a forerunner of the *Scotsman*; but both were handicapped by having to take their diplomatic news and social gossip at second-hand from London. More ambitious and more noteworthy, if also directly inspired by similar English enterprises, was the *Scots Magazine*, commenced in 1739 and continuing, with numerous lapses, revivals and radical changes, down to the present day. A mine of information on current affairs, social, political and religious, this monthly periodical was for long a really literary effort and was vastly more successful than its ephemeral rivals.

The opening of the new century saw the idea of the review carried much further, and the *Scots Magazine* was eclipsed by the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly* and *Blackwood's*, which, as direct ancestors of the modern review, have significance extending far beyond the bounds of Scotland. If the later standards of these periodicals fell below those set by Jeffrey and Brown, Wilson, Lockhart and Hogg, this was largely due to the development of the weekly, bi-weekly and, eventually, the daily newspaper, the increasing education of the masses, the popular demand for cheap news, and the speeding-up of transport and communications. The press began to wield great political and social influence and every important town offered a market to the enterprising journalist. The *Glasgow Herald*, which

grew out of the *Glasgow Advertiser*, founded in 1783, took its place alongside the *Scotsman* as the leading newspapers. We have already seen how they helped to maintain the Liberal ascendancy and how their change to the Unionist side altered the strength of the parties. Their position is little changed to this day, and their power of moulding public opinion, especially at general elections, is still enormous.

To some extent Scottish newspapers, edited and written expressly for the masses, lay themselves open to invidious comparisons with those of bygone days, but one particular charge, that they are wholly inspired from London, unaware of truly "national" phenomena and hence provincial in the worst sense, is easily disproved from their columns. For the rest, a comparison with England or any other country is really far from disastrous. It is indeed hard to see in what respects either type of the London press—safe, stolid and conservative, or vulgar and sensational—is markedly better than our own; and the provincial newspapers of both countries are on a par.

To sum up. The Scottish nation, at all times able to win only a small margin of wealth and leisure in its struggle against adversity, has a definite, though limited, cultural heritage reaching back over five centuries. Direct comparisons with other countries are mostly beside the mark. Scotland could never be an England or France, nor should facile analogies be drawn with small European states like Belgium or Denmark, since none of them has experienced anything like the essential processes of recent Scottish history—voluntary union with a stronger neighbour and intense industrialization. Scottish culture has all along shown a very close concern with material problems; on this plane achievement has varied from age to age with the circumstances of the time, but never can it be said that the fount of inspiration has dried up. The story is one of partial losses and gains, rather than of alternate splendour and eclipse. Thus a realistic and comprehensive view of later medieval culture, which it is fashionable

to acclaim as uniquely glorious, shows it to have been only moderately competent in one branch of the arts—ecclesiastical architecture,—strong and creative in one department of letters—vernacular poetry,—very poor in all others and pitifully inadequate in its diffusive efforts. If later ages failed to repeat all its triumphs, they also made good many of its deficiencies and preserved much that was worthy of preservation ; though some of the early failings have never been remedied. Over the whole field of arts, letters and education, the middle and later years of the eighteenth century represent the peak of successful endeavour, but, if twentieth century Scotland falls short of that epoch, it is in most respects in advance of the mid-seventeenth or mid-nineteenth century.

Genius, in any case, is not to be summoned out of the ether by ill-founded assertion about our own and other days, and this leads us to the least pleasing aspects of that curiously self-conscious movement styled the Scottish Renaissance, which aims at the cultural reawakening of the nation. Prominent tendencies are to deplore the modern lack of receptivity to the arts, to over-praise the pre-Reformation epoch, to call for the revival of Gaelic and vernacular literature (either or both), to attempt the rehabilitation of ambiguous historical reputations like those of Queen Mary and Prince Charles, to accuse the Kirk of wholesale Philistinism, to asperse the commercial aims of modern education and to detect the processes of provincialization, Anglicization and Americanization at work in an amazing variety of ways. Not that these trends are all to be found in any one leader of the cult—quite opposite ones crop up here and there—and many of them are, doubtless, passing phases, but knowledge as well as balance is often lacking. Reference has already been made to some glaring misconceptions in politics and economics. Whilst æsthetic judgments, never definitive, are more liable to reflect mistaken opinions than errors of fact, the writer may be permitted to draw attention to one simple falsehood, affecting a

matter familiar to himself, which is small in itself and yet seemingly characteristic of much similar criticism. In accusing the universities of lack of interest in the national history and literature, Mr. Thomas Henderson says: "But Scottish Literature! There might almost as well be no such subject, as far as the universities are concerned. Such treatment as it gets is, in the strictest sense, incidental, as a mere episode in the vastly more important story of English literature." There is no excuse for simple untruths of this kind, since to anyone interested in, and conversant with, Scottish affairs the information is easily accessible, that Scottish Literature is regularly taught, independently of English or any other "subject" save Scottish History, to large classes at our largest University.

The "Renaissance" writers, however, if opinionated and sometimes misguided, are doing good work in deepening the nation's interest in its destinies, material and spiritual. A book like the collaborative *Scotland in Quest of her Youth* (1932) is evidence of a healthy mood of inquiry and revaluation. The literary output of recent years—much of it of a restless and probing quality—challenges both complacent optimism and foolish despair. This awareness of things which were once taken for granted has affected the English press in its attitude to Scotland—who would have dreamed, ten years ago, of "Our Scottish Letter" or of special Scottish editions of London dailies?—and English public thought is probably now over-influenced by the stridently vocal little group of ultra-nationalists. In the circumstances it seems idle to speak of the disappearance of Scotland's identity. National *mores* suffer slow but certain changes, international contacts add constantly to the common resources of mankind and Scotland modifies her outlook and character with the rest of the world. She has problems to cope with as grave as any which can be posed elsewhere, but that a unique catastrophe lies around the corner, brought about by the decay of her strength and spirituality, is a nightmare which will not distress men of sanity and vision.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

(THE following is strictly a Bibliographical Note. It does not aspire to completeness, nor does it pretend to rival existing bibliographies such as that appended to Hume Brown's *History*; rather it is an attempt to indicate the more important of the recent works and to show how they supplement the older authorities.)

Chapters I, II and III—Political History before 1707.

The soundest of general histories is P. Hume Brown, *History of Scotland* (3 vols., 1900-09); more brilliant in parts, less reliable as a whole, is Andrew Lang, *A History of Scotland* (4 vols., 1900-07). Among shorter works may be mentioned C. S. Terry, *A History of Scotland* (1920); R. S. Rait, *History of Scotland* (Home Univ. Library, 1914-15); and G. M. Thomson, *A Short History of Scotland* (1932)—the last-named a lively "Nationalist" version. Sir Archibald H. Dunbar, *Scottish Kings, 1005-1625* (1899), is indispensable for chronology. Religion and politics are closely intertwined in our history, and the following books have therefore much general interest: A. R. MacEwen, *A History of the Church in Scotland* (to 1560), (2 vols., 1913, 1918); J. Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (1910) and *The Bishops of Scotland* (1912). The publication of the national records goes steadily on; conspicuous among recent volumes are Henry Paton, *The Register of the Privy Council* (Third Series, Vol. XIV, 1689) (1933), and R. K. Hannay, *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-54* (1933); important additions to the *Calendar of Scottish Papers* (after 1588) are in the press.

For the earliest period Robert Munro, *Prehistoric Scotland* (1899), is still an authority, though the facts

are being re-stated in numerous articles by V. Gordon Childe, and in his *Skara Brae* (1931); his Munro Lectures are as yet unpublished, as are Professor Bryce's Rhynd Lectures. For the Roman period there are George Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (1911); J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* (1911); A. O. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain* (1923); F. J. Haverfield, *The Roman Occupation of Britain* (1925); the Glasgow Archæological Society's reports on forts (1922-33), and articles in the *Journal of Roman Studies* and the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*. There is now a "Pictish question" in Scotland, and new theories have been advanced in A. B. Scott, *The Pictish Nation: its People and its Church* (1918); in W. D. Simpson, *The Historical St. Columba* (1927); and in G. A. Frank Knight, *Archæological Light on the Early Christianizing of Scotland* (2 vols., 1933); but much safer guides are E. W. Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings* (1862), and A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers* (1908) and *Early Sources of Scottish History* (2 vols., 1922). Sir Archibald C. Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters* (1905) and *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William* (1910) are also invaluable. Since the appearance of W. Mackay Mackenzie's *The Battle of Bannockburn* (1913) the campaign has been fought out again and again in pamphlet warfare. Among the more important recent works on special subjects may be mentioned R. K. Hannay, *The College of Justice* (1933); R. S. Rait and Annie I. Cameron, *King James's Secret* (1927); David Murray, *Early Burgh Organization in Scotland* (2 vols., 1924, 1932); Theodora Pagan, *The Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland* (1926); I. F. Grant, *The Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603* (1930), and G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes* (1922) and *The Company of Scotland* (1924). For the whole period between the Reformation and the Revolution we have W. L. Mathieson, *Politics and Religion* (2 vols., 1902); for the Union J. Mackinnon, *The Union of England and Scotland* (1896), supplemented by A. V.

Dicey and R. S. Rait, *Thoughts on the Union between England and Scotland* (1920); and for constitutional history, R. S. Rait, *The Parliaments of Scotland* (1924).

For a quarter of a century articles on almost every subject appeared in the *Scottish Historical Review*; it is still a mine of varied information, and its termination, in 1928, is a cause of real regret to historians. The Scottish History Society, fortunately, continues its fruitful work of publishing manuscript sources. An indispensable guide to the student is *A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies*; the first volume, by C. S. Terry (1909), covers the years 1780-1908, the second, by Cyril Matheson (1928), runs from 1908 to 1927. Also useful is C. S. Terry, *An Index to the Papers relating to Scotland . . . in the Historical MSS. Commission's Reports* (1908).

Chapters IV and V—Political History after 1707.

P. Hume Brown's *History of Scotland* remains the basic work for the period to 1843; in the Library Edition (3 vols., 1911), there is an additional chapter which brings the story down to about 1910, though with no approach to the fullness of the earlier sections. Andrew Lang, *A History of Scotland*, Vol. IV (1907), stops at the 'Forty-five. Sir H. Craik, *A Century of Scottish History* (2 vols., 1901), comes down to the Disruption, which also forms the terminal point for W. L. Mathieson's three volumes, *Scotland and the Union* (1905), *The Awakening of Scotland* (1910), and *Church and Reform in Scotland* (1916); and for C. S. Terry's shorter book, *A History of Scotland* (1920). Thus none of the larger general histories deal exhaustively with times subsequent to 1843, though they are reviewed in part in some of the shorter works, including G. M. Thomson, *A Short History of Scotland* (1932); R. S. Rait, *The Making of Scotland* (1927); R. L. Mackie, *A Short History of Scotland* (1929-30); and G. P. Insh, *Scotland and the Modern World* (1932). For these times the *Annual Register* is therefore indispensable; it is especially convenient for the years

1889 to 1914, when Scottish affairs were given separate treatment. The newspapers must also be consulted—*The Scotsman*, the *Glasgow Herald*, the *Witness*, the *Edinburgh Courant*, the *Dundee Advertiser*, and others.

Among special subjects the Jacobites continue to attract study and interest. Significant among recent works are Winifred Duke, *Lord George Murray and the 'Forty-five* (1927) Sir Bruce Seton and Mrs. Jean Arnot, *The Prisoners of the '45* (3 vols., 1928-29), and Audrey Cunningham, *The Loyal Class* (1932); the first two expose the scamy side of the movement, the third is a scholarly attempt at re-statement of the more romantic aspects, and must be read with caution. Admirable selections of the relevant documents will be found in C. S. Terry, *The Jacobites and the Union* (1922) and *The 'Forty-five* (1922); the older *Culloden Papers* (1815) must be supplemented by D. Warrand, *More Culloden Papers* (1923, etc.). For the close of the eighteenth century there are Cyril Matheson, *The Life of Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville* (1933), and H. W. Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution* (1912). For Scottish political history in the nineteenth century, the Marquess of Crewe's *Lord Rosebery* (2 vols., 1931) is disappointing in comparison to some of the older biographies, such as J. B. Mackie, *The Life and Work of Duncan McLaren* (1888). The most reasonable account of the forces behind the newer Nationalism is to be found in Sir Alexander M. MacEwen, *The Thistle and the Rose* (1932).

Chapter VI—Constitutional History.

For post-Union parliamentary history the starting-point is supplied by R. S. Rait, *The Parliaments of Scotland* (1924); the nineteenth- and twentieth-century reforms must be studied in the parliamentary records, which are available in convenient form in *The Public General Statutes affecting Scotland* (3 vols., covering period from 1707 to 1847; thereafter annual volumes), which are likewise the basis for all other constitutional studies. The early system of Scottish administration

has been worked out in M. A. Thomson, *The Secretaries of State, 1681-1782* (1932). Scots Law in evolution may be studied in the various editions of the great legal digests, such as Viscount Stair's *Institutions*, Sir George Mackenzie's *Institutions*, or John Erskine's *Institute and Principles*. In the same way, by consulting the different editions of J. J. Clarke, *The Local Government of the United Kingdom* (culminating in that of 1931), one may trace the local reforms of recent times. There is an admirable essay on Scots Law by Lord Macmillan in *A Scotsman's Heritage* (1932). For post-War national finance the *Treasury White Paper* of December 21, 1932, on the returns of revenue and expenditure for England and Scotland in 1931-32, is indispensable: a very full analysis appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* of the following day.

Chapter VII—Economic and Social History.

Henry Hamilton, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (1932), is a comprehensive study of economic changes which was badly required; to cavil at such an admirable pioneer work may be ungracious, but there seems no very good reason for leaving the story in the air at various points between 1850 and 1910. Thomas Johnston, *The History of the Working Classes in Scotland* (1920), is a bellicose, though well-documented, *ex parte* statement of the case from the Trade Union view-point. A review of war-time conditions is given in W. R. Scott and J. Cunnison, *The Industries of the Clyde Valley during the War* (1924). For the post-War period there are many official reports and publications, like the monthly *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, the periodic *Agricultural Output of Scotland* (the most recent that for 1930), or occasional volumes such as the Board of Trade's *Industrial Survey of South-West Scotland* (1932). The annual *Glasgow Herald Trade Review* is useful, though something must be allowed for journalistic optimism. For the personnel side during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the decennial *Census Reports* (from 1801 on) are invaluable.

H. G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (2 vols., 1899), has never been superseded ; it is sound and readable, on agrarian and industrial affairs, as well as on social conditions. A similar work for the nineteenth century is desiderated ; Elizabeth S. Haldane, *The Scotland of Our Fathers* (1933), though an interesting blend of reminiscence and reading, does not approach the earlier work in completeness or in scholarly merits. The original sources are many and varied, ranging from the two series of *Statistical Accounts* (1791-99 and 1845) and the *Census Reports* (especially good for housing), to the newspapers and volumes of personal memoirs like Lord Cockburn's *Memorials of his Time* (1872), and *Journal*, 1831-54 (2 vols., 1874). The development of public utilities and of social services in the localities may be studied in *Municipal Glasgow : its Evolution and Enterprises* (1914) ; and an important chapter in the record of Scottish banking is contained in R. S. Rait, *History of the Union Bank of Scotland* (1930).

Chapter VIII—Ecclesiastical History.

Two seventy-year-old standard works are still useful for pre-Disruption history : John Cunningham, *The Church History of Scotland* (2 vols., 1859) ; and George Grub, *The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* (4 vols., 1861). Among many newer books, Sir Thomas Raleigh, *Annals of the Church in Scotland* (1921), is both interesting and authoritative ; Lord Balfour of Burleigh, *The Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland* (1911), contains much good material in small bulk ; and J. R. Fleming, *A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-1929* (2 vols., 1927-33), brings the story down to the great re-union. The new edition of Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* (7 vols., 1915-28), is the standard source-book for biographical and other details. A. Bellesheim, *The History of the Catholic Church in Scotland* (4 vols., trans. Blair, 1887), is still the only complete study of Scottish Catholicism.

Chapter IX—Cultural History.

J. H. Millar, *A Literary History of Scotland* (1903), and T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature* (1910), remain the best and fullest works of literary criticism ; not that general interest is lacking or even diminishing, since, through the labours of the Scottish Text Society, most early Scottish productions are available at least to scholars, and popular demand was strong enough in 1933 to justify new editions both of Dunbar (ed. Mackenzie) and of Henryson (ed. Wood). The older commentaries on Scottish painting should be read in conjunction with Sir D. Y. Cameron's essay on Art in *A Scotsman's Heritage* (1932). For Scottish architecture the exhaustive works of D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (5 vols., 1887-92) and *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (3 vols., 1896-97), are not likely to be superseded for some time ; most modern works, like W. D. Simpson's short but exceedingly useful pamphlet, *The Scottish Castle* (1924), are in substantial agreement with them, although W. Mackay Mackenzie, *The Mediæval Castle in Scotland* (1927), shows strongly divergent views. Another pamphlet, H. G. Farmer, *Music in Mediæval Scotland* (1931), serves as an able guide to its subject. With reference to the part played by the mediæval Church in Scottish culture and social life, G. G. Coulton, *Scottish Abbeys and Social Life* (1933), should not be missed. The aims of the " Renaissance " writers of modern times, in all their liveliness, complexity and mutual incompatibility, find expression in *Scotland in Quest of her Youth* (1932). As regards education, Alexander Morgan, *Scottish University Studies* (1933), gives a clear summary of the main developments until recent times at all four Universities.

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INDEX

A

- Abbey Walk, The* (Henryson), 306.
 Abbeys, Scottish, 5, 9-10, 292-3, 304.
 Aberdeen, 91, 93, 159, 161-2, 178, 186, 196, 198, 202, 207, 209, 212, 217, 220-1, 224, 229, 242, 307.
 Aberdeen, Earl of, 111.
 Aberdeenshire, 12, 58-9, 92, 160, 194, 201, 236, 259, 282.
 Aberdeenshire, South, 142.
 Aberdeen University, 33, 36, 322, 325, 328, 331.
 Abernethy round tower, 293.
 Act against Wrongous Imprisonment, 73, 104.
 Act anent Peace and War, 75.
 Act of Annexation (1587), 52.
 Act of Security, 75-6.
 Act of Toleration, 89, 259, 263.
 Act Rescissory, 64.
 Ada, daughter of William of Warrene, 16.
 Adam brothers, the, 300.
 Adam, Sir Charles, 159.
 Adamson, Mr. William, 146.
Address to the Devil (Burns), 314.
Address to the Unco' Guid (Burns), 314.
 Administration, Scottish, 97-8, 100, 122-3, 125, 140-1, 163-7.
 Admiralty, High Court of (Scottish), 176, 178.
 Admiralty, Court of (English), 178.
 Advocate, Lord, 98-100, 102-3, 107, 109, 119, 140, 164-6.
 Advocates, Faculty of, 104, 175, 180.
 Aegean Sea, 80.
Aeneid, The, translated, 308.
 Aeroplane industry, 241.
 Africa, 72.
 Africa, South, 221.
 Agincourt, Battle of, 30.
 Agrarian Revolution, 199-201, 207, 210-1, 213-4.
 Agriculture, 188-90, 193-4, 196, 199-201, 207, 213-6, 224, 234, 236-7, 243-4, 250, 253, 256, 290-1.
 Agriculture, Department (Board) of, for Scotland, 167, 215, 250.
 Aguc, 192.
 Airdrie, 219, 224, 232.
 Alban, "nation" of, 325.
 Albany, Alexander, Duke of, 34-5.
 Albany, John, Duke of, 36.
 Albany, Murdoch, Duke of, 30-1.
 Albany, Robert, Duke of, 30-1.
Albyn (Grieve), 141.
 Ale and Beer, 99, 170-1, 191-3, 197, 208-9, 225. *See also* Brewing.
 Alexander I, 7-10, 13, 16.
 Alexander II, 13, 15-6, 18-9.
 Alexander III, 3, 11, 16, 18-21.
 Alexander, Sir William (Earl of Stirling), 311.
 Aliens Act, 76-7.
All Early Joy returnis in Pans (Dunbar), 307.
 Almonry schools, 323.
 Alnwick, skirmish at, 6, 17.
 America, 221, 239, 250, 298, 321-2.
 American Civil War, 81, 218, 252.
 American Independence, War of, 101-3, 205-6.
 Americanization of Scottish culture, 336, 338.
 America, North, 72-3, 80-1, 101, 205-7, 210.
 Amisfield tower, 300.
 Amusements, 192-3, 211, 226, 228, 233-4, 249-51.
 Anatomy, study of, 227-8, 329-30.
 Anderson, J. Maitland, 324-5.
And Pleasant Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis (Lyndsay), 308, 335.
 Angles in Scotland, 1-4, 20.
 Anglicans. *See* Church of England.
 Anglicization of medieval Scotland, a 3-19; of modern Scottish culture, 336, 338.
 Anglo-Norman baronage, 13, 15; influences in law, 174.
 Anglophobia, 85, 174.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, cited, 17.
 Anglo-Scottish warfare, 5-7, 14-8, 23-30, 32, 36-7, 40-2, 61-2, 85, 294, 304.
 Angus (Forfarshire), 144, 149, 201-2, 214, 217, 236.

- Angus, Bracs of, 92.
 Angus, Earl of, 38-9, 323.
 Angus, "nation" of, 325.
Annals of the Parish (Galt), 319.
 Annandale, 11.
 Anne, Queen, 74-8, 88, 90, 263.
 Annexed Estates, Commissioners of the. *See under* Commissioners.
 Annuity-tax, 121.
 Anselm, St., 8.
 Anstruthers, churches of the, 299.
 Anti-Burgher Synod, 261, 263, 268.
 Anti-Corn-Law League, 117.
 Antoninus Pius, 1.
 Appeals to House of Lords, 89, 131, 175, 177-8, 272-3.
 Arbroath, 186; abbey of, 9.
 Architecture in Scotland, 196, 210, 292-301, 338.
 Argatholians, 98.
 Argentina, 215.
 Argyll, 2, 92, 144, 224, 246; bishopric of, 8.
 Argyll, Earl of, 67; second Duke of, 87, 91-3, 98-100, 164; third Duke of (Lord Islay), 93, 98-9, 107, 165; eighth Duke of, 123.
 Aristotelianism, 324, 328, 330.
 Arkhilholm, Battle of, 32.
 Arkwright, Sir Richard, 203.
 Armadale, 232, 247.
 Armistice of 1918, 138, 274.
 Arnot, Mrs. Jean. *See* Seton, Sir Bruce.
 Arran, Regent, 41-2, 44, 308.
 Articles of Perth, Five, 57.
 Art School, Glasgow, 301.
 Arts course at Universities, 324, 328-31, 333.
 Arts League of Service, 335.
 Asquith, H. II. (Earl of Oxford), 130, 133, 137, 233.
 Assembly, General, 45, 50-3, 55-9, 62-3, 196, 258, 260-2, 266-7, 272, 327.
 Assembly, National (French), 103.
 Assembly of Divines, Westminster. *See under* Westminster.
 Associate Presbytery and Synod. *See* Original Secession.
 Atholl Brigade, 94.
 Atholl, Celtic carldom, 14.
 Atholl, Duke of (Jacobite), 94; (Hanoverian), 199.
Atholl Papers, cited, 95.
 Atlantic trade and shipping, 205-6, 244, 255.
 Auchterarder, 93; Auchterarder case, 267.
Aufklärung (eighteenth century). *See* Enlightenment.
 Auld Alliance, the, 28-30, 32-3, 36-7, 39-43.
 Auld Lichts, the, 268-9, 272.
Auld Reekie (Fergusson), 313.
 Aumale, William of, 13.
 Austen, Jane, 319.
 Austin Canons (Augustinians), 9.
 Australia, 215, 322.
 Austria-Hungary, 80.
Autobiography and Diary (Melville), 311.
 Ayr, 178, 198.
 Ayr burghs, 143, 162.
 Ayrshire, 160, 162, 194, 201, 205, 214, 219.
 Ayrshire, Northern, and Dule, 144, 162.
 Ayrshire, Southern, 144, 162.
 Aytoun, W. E., 317, 319.

B

- Bacon (foodstuff), 228, 243.
 Bacon, Francis, 330.
 Bailieries, 176.
 Baillie, Lady Grizel, 312.
 Baillie, Robert, 56-7, 60, 63, 309, 311.
 Baird, William, 221.
 Bakers, 195, 212, 223.
 Baldwin, Mr. Stanley, 138-40, 242.
 Dalfour, A. J. (Earl), 134, 167, 318.
 Balkans, the, 80.
 Ballads, Scottish, 297, 302, 316.
 Balliol, Edward, 27-8.
 Balliol, John de, 13.
 Balliol, King John, 21-3.
 Balliols, the, 16, 21-4.
 Ballot, the secret, 120.
 Balmerino, Lord, 100.
 Balquhadder, Bracs of, 92.
 Baltic sea-ports, 196.
 Banff, 93.
 Banffshire, 92, 144.
 Bank Act of 1763, 208.
 Bank Charter Act of 1845, 213.
Banks of Helicon, The (Montgomerie), 310.
 Bank of Scotland, 201.
 Banks and banking, 109, 147, 201, 208, 212-3.
 Bannockburn, Battle of, 26,

- Bannocks. *See* Oat-cakes.
 Baptist Church in Scotland, 117, 274, 276-7, 283.
 Barbados, 72-3.
 Barbers and Surgeons, 195, 329.
 Barbour, John, 25, 304.
 Bargarran thread, 202.
 Barley, 214, 236-7.
 Baron-courts, 176, 179.
 Baronial, Scots (architectural style), 295, 299-300.
 Baronies, 180, 182.
 Barons and Crown, strife of, 31-2, 323.
 Barony, burghs of, 180, 182-4.
 Barrier Act, 258.
 Barricade, Sir James, 320, 335.
 Barrhead, 232.
 Baugé, Battle of, 30.
 Baxters, craft of. *See* Bakers.
 Beadles, 182.
 Beardmore, William, 222.
 Beaton, Cardinal David, 40-1.
 Beaulieu, priory of, 293.
 Beef, 191, 215, 226, 228, 243.
 Beer. *See* under Ale.
 Belfast, 253.
 Belgium, 152, 337.
 Bell's Comet, 221.
 Benedictine monks, 9.
 Benefices Act, 271.
 Bore (barley), 90, 189.
 Bornia, kingdom of, 1-3.
 Berwick, 15, 23, 31-2, 34-5.
 Berwickshire, 27, 162, 201, 214, 246.
 Bible classes, 275.
 Biblical criticism, 270-1, 331.
 Bill of Rights, 82.
 Birgham-on-Tweed, Treaty of, 21.
 Birth-rate, 251-2, 284.
 Bishoprics, foundation of, 8-9.
 Bishops, restored, 50, 52-3, 55-7, 64; deposed, 58, 68-9.
 Bishops' Wars, 58-9.
 "Black Acts," 51.
 Blackband ironstone, 219.
 Blackface sheep, 200.
 Blackford, 93.
 Blackfriars division (Glasgow), 131.
 Blackie, Professor J. Stuart, 317.
 Black Watch, 100-1.
 Blackwood's Magazine, 108, 318, 336.
 Blair, Hugh, 330.
 Blanehead, 251.
 Blast furnaces, 204, 238-9, 244, 252-3.
 Bleaching, 194, 201-2.
 Blenheim, Battle of, 75.
 Bludy Serk, The (Henryson), 306.
 Blythesome Bridal, The, 310.
 Board of Supervision, 166, 184-5.
 Board of Trustees, 201-2.
 Boards, the Edinburgh, 166-7.
 Boecaccio, Giovanni, 318.
 Body-lifters, 227-8.
 Boece, Hector, 13, 305, 324.
 Boer War, 129-30.
 Boilers, ships', 222-3.
 Bolingbroke, Viscount, 90, 164.
 Bonnetmakers, 195.
 Book-binding, 205.
 Book of Canons, 57-8.
 Book of Common Order, 56.
 Book of Discipline, First, 45, 325.
 Border counties, 214.
 Border tweeds, 217.
 Borstal schools, 248.
 Borthwick tower, 295.
 Boswell, James, 312, 317.
 Botany Bay, 105.
 Botany, study of, 330.
 Bothies, 225.
 Bothwell Bridge, Battle of, 67.
 Bothwell Church, 293.
 Bothwell, Earl of, 48.
 Bounties on exports, 169-70, 201.
 Box-beds, 191, 225.
 Brandane, Mr. John, 335.
 Brandy, 197-8.
 Bread, 191, 200, 208, 226, 229, 232, 247, 254.
 Breadalbane, Earl of, 71.
 Breakfast, 191, 197.
 Brechin round tower, 293.
 Breda, Declaration of, 63.
 Bretigny, Treaty of, 29.
 Brewers or brewsters, 99, 195, 205.
 Bridge-building, 204, 220, 235.
 Bridgeton division (Glasgow), 150.
 Bridie, Mr. James, 335.
 Bright, John, 117, 119, 125.
 Bristol, 205.
 British Empire, 80, 129-30, 134, 152, 154, 205-6, 222.
 British Linen Company, 201.
 Britons of Strathclyde, 1-2, 20.
 Broad-cloth, English, 209.
 Brown, George Douglas, 320.
 Brown, John (Engineers, etc.), 222.
 Brown, P. Hume, cited, 78, 83.
 Brown, Thomas, 336.
 Bruce, Edward, 26.
 Bruce, Marjory, 28.

- Bruce, Robert (friend of David I), 11; (the Claimant), 21; (his son), 23; (the King), *see* Robert I.
- Bruces, 16, 21, 23.
- Brude, King of Picts, 2.
- Brus* (Barbour), 304, 322.
- Buchan, Earl of, 30.
- Buchan, Mr. John, 320.
- Buchan, "nation" of, 325.
- Buchanan, Dugald, 316.
- Buchanan, George, 86, 311.
- Buchanan, Robert, 317.
- Builders, 240, 254.
- Bull, Papal, of 1192, 17.
- Bunyan, John, 318.
- Burgess-oath controversy, 261, 268.
- Burgh-courts, 176, 179.
- Burgh-on-Sands, 25.
- Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892, 183.
- Burgh schools, 323, 326-7.
- Burglicer Synod, 261, 263, 268.
- Burghs, Scottish, 3, 12-3, 33, 78, 109, 115-6, 143-4, 158-63, 174, 177, 180-4, 186-7, 193, 195-8.
- Burke, Edmund, 103.
- Burke-and-Haro scandal, 227.
- Burns, Robert, 105-7, 110, 301-5, 307, 310, 313-5, 320.
- Bursaries, University, 185, 330, 332, 334.
- Burton, J. Hill, cited, 78.
- Bute, 158, 162, 247.
- Bute, Earl of, 101, 110.
- Butler, 228, 329.
- Byres Road (Glasgow), 211.
- Cabbage, 208.
- Caesar's *Gullic War*, 311.
- Cairds of Groenck, 221.
- Caithness, 158, 162, 246.
- Calcutta, 218, 224.
- Calderwood, David, 311.
- Caledonia* (Thomson), 141, 284.
- Caledonian Canal, 220.
- Caledonian Mercury*, 336.
- Caledonian Railway, 220.
- Caledonians, 1.
- Call to the Church, The*, 285, 287.
- Calvinism, 269-70, 297, 299.
- Cambridge University, 332.
- Cameron, Sir D. Y., quoted, 303.
- Cameron, Richard, 69.
- "Camerounians," the, 69-70, 260, 269.
- Camerons, 92.
- Campbell, Rev. John McLeod, of Row, 270.
- Campbell of Glenlyon, 71.
- Campbell, Thomas, 317.
- Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, 121, 130, 133.
- Campbells, 93.
- Camping, 250.
- Canada, 215, 235, 322.
- Canals, 204-5, 220.
- Candlish, Rev. Robert, 266.
- Canning, George, 109, 166.
- Canongate (Edinburgh), 197, 300.
- Canons Regular, 9.
- Canterbury, 5, 8, 10, 16-7.
- Capitalism, rise of, 202-3.
- Carberry Hill, 48.
- Carlham, Battle of, 2-3.
- Carlisle, 15, 23, 93, 95.
- Carlyle, Thomas, 317-8.
- Carnegie Trust for Scottish Universities, 332.
- Carolinas, the, 101, 206, 210.
- Carpets, 217, 219.
- Carrriages, 192.
- Carron, 108; iron-works, 204.
- Carrots, 208.
- Carstairs, William, 278.
- Carieret, Lord, 98, 100.
- Carts, 192, 200.
- Cartwright, Edmund, 216.
- Carvoth, 251.
- Casket Letters, the, 48.
- Castlereagh, Lord, 109.
- Castles, Scottish, 294-5, 299-300.
- Casualties, Great War, 235.
- Catechisms, 60.
- Cathcart division (Glasgow), 142.
- Cathedrals, Scottish, 278, 293, 297-8, 304.
- Catholic Emancipation, 109, 265, 273.
- Catholics, Roman, 42, 44, 46, 49, 56, 63, 66, 68, 96, 101, 109, 118, 248, 259, 262-5, 273, 275-8, 283-7, 333.
- Cattle, 189-92, 196, 198, 200-1, 204, 210, 213-5; cattle shows, 226.
- Cecil, Robert, 52.
- Celt and Saxon, conflict of, 3-10, 13-4, 19.
- Celtic architecture, 292.

C

- Census of Agricultural Production*, 1931, 236-7.
Census of Scotland, 161-3, 186, 207, 230-2, 237, 239, 246.
 Cess, the monthly, 169, 182.
 Chalmers, Rev. Thomas, 266, 271, 286, 318.
 Chamber of Commerce, Glasgow, 206.
 Chamberlain, 12; his Court, 176.
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 130, 242.
 Chancellor, Lord High, 12, 43, 68.
 Chancellor of Exchequer, 168.
 Chancellor (University), 331.
 Chancery, Court of (England), 177.
 Chapel Act, 267.
 Chaplains, private, 191.
 Charcoal for smelting, 203-4.
 Charles I, 57-62, 311.
 Charles II, 62-7, 70.
 Charles, Prince (the Young Pretender), 92-6, 264, 338.
 Charles VII of France, 31.
 Charters, institution of, 11-3.
 Chartists, 113.
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 305-6.
 "Chaucerians, the Scottish," 305-9.
 Chokhov, Anton, 320.
 Chemical industry, 223, 235, 241, 254.
 Chemistry, study of, 330.
Cherie and the Slas, The (Montgomerie), 310.
 Chester, capture of, 2.
 Cheviot sheep, 200.
 Child labour, 226.
 China (the country), 238.
 China, introduction of, 208.
 Cholera, 227, 230.
 Christian Science, 275, 277.
 Christianity, early, 1-2.
Christis Kirk on the Grein, 305, 313.
 Christmas, celebration of, 57, 233, 259, 330.
 Church and State disputes, 45, 49-53, Chapter III *passim*, 113-4, Chapter VIII *passim*, 309-10.
 "Church Extension," 120, 333.
 Church of England, 16-7, 61, 63-4, 78, 100, 264, 273, 278, 282, 287.
 Church of England in Scotland, 277.
 Church of Scotland, medieval, 5-10, 44, 290-1, 311, 323-5; Protestant, 44-5; 49-53, Chapter III *passim*, 81-3, 89, 103, 113, 120-1, 133, 177-8, 180, 182-3, Chapter VIII *passim*, 309-10, 325-7, 333.
 Church of Scotland (Property and Endowments) Act, 274.
 "Churchless" element in Scotland, 285-9.
 Cinema, 233, 249, 334.
 City of Glasgow Bank failure, 213.
 Civil Law, 174-5.
 Clackmannanshire, 158, 160.
 Claim of Right (1689), 70, 82-3; (1843), 267.
 Clan Chattan, 92.
 Clans, Highland, 11-2, 91-7, 100-1, 207-8, 210-1.
 Clarct, 191, 197, 208-9.
 Claverhouse, James Graham of (Viscount Dundee), 67, 69.
 Claypotts tower, 300.
 Clearances, Highland, 210-1, 215-6.
 Clerk of the Kitchen, 12; of the Wardrobe, 12.
 Clipper ships, 221.
 Clithero, Battle of, 15.
Cloud Howe (Gibbon), 321.
 Clover, 200.
 Clyde, River, 136-7, 197, 206, 221-4, 235, 238-9, 242, 244; Firth of, 194, 197.
 Clyde Workers' Committee, 137.
 Clydebank, 232, 244.
 Clydesdale farm-horse, 236.
 Clydesdale, "nation" of, 325.
 Clydeside, 146, 150, 223, 253.
 Coaches, 204, 211.
 Coal, 138, 140, 195, 204-6, 219, 221-4, 234, 238-40, 242-4, 252-3.
 Coalition Government (1915-22), 136-7.
 Coatbridge, 219, 224, 232, 247.
 Coatbridge division (Lanarkshire), 162.
 Cobden, Richard, 117, 119.
 Cockburn of Ormiston, 199.
 Cock-fighting, 226, 327.
 Codification of Scots Law, 174-5.
 Coke-smelting, 204.
 Coldingham, abbey of, 9.
 College of Justice. *See* Court of Session.
 Collegiate churches, 293.
 Colliers, serfdom of, 195, 208.
 Collaps, 197.
 Colonies, English (British), 72-3, 80, 101, 169, 201, 205-7.
 Columba, St., 2.
Comet, the, 221.

- Commendation, the Great, 17.
 Commerce. *See under Trade.*
 Commerce, Department of (U.S.A.)
 288; Faculty of (Universities),
 333.
 Commercial Bank of Scotland, 212.
 Commissary Courts, 176-8.
 Commissioners, for Union, 70-1, 74,
 76-8, 156, 177, 193; of Jus-
 tiiciary, Lords, 176, 178, 180; of
 Supply, 121, 127, 169, 180-5; of
 the Annexed Estates, 201-2.
 Commissions, of the Peace, 177;
 University (1826, 1858, 1889),
 331.
 Common Law, English, 174.
 Common Pleas, Court of, 177.
 Commons, House of, 72, 74, 133,
 146, 148, 156-63.
 "Commons," rights of, 199-200,
 251.
 Commonwealth, the, 62.
 "Communication of trade," 193.
 Communications. *See Canals, Rail-
 ways, Roads, Ships and Shipping.*
 Communion, Holy, 192-3, 226, 275,
 280.
 Communism in Scotland, 141, 146,
 150, 284-5.
 Community Drama Festivals, 335.
 Company Law, 179-80.
Complaynt of Scotland, The, cited,
 85.
 Comyn, John, 24, 32.
 Comyns, 21-2.
 Confession of Faith, 44, 60, 67, 69,
 258, 270, 278.
 Congregation, Lords of the, 43-4,
 278.
 Congregational Church in Scotland,
 117, 274, 276-7, 280, 283.
 Conservatives, 114-5, 121-3, 125-9,
 136-49, 151, 153-5, 242, 271.
 Constable, John, 303.
 Constable, Lord High, 12.
 Constables, Police, 181-2.
 Constabulary courts, 176, 179.
 Convener of the County, 182, 185.
 Conventicles, 65-7, 310.
 Cope, Sir John, 92-3.
 Cordiners, 195.
 Corn Laws, 116-7, 214.
 Cort, Henry, 204.
Collagers of Glenburnie, The
 (Hamilton), 319.
Collier's Saturday Night, The
 (Burns), 106.
 Cotton, 203-4, 209, 216-20, 226,
 240, 252.
 Coulton, Dr. G. G., 292, 323-4.
 Council, General (Universities), 331;
 Great, 12, 82; Privy, 54, 65, 68,
 88, 133, 164, 175, 177; Provin-
 cial (of Scottish Church), 17, 324.
 Counties, Scottish. *See Shires.*
 Country life, 190-3, 208-11, 225-6,
 231-4, 249-52.
 Country Party, 76, 87.
 County Councils, 127, 169, 182,
 184-6, 332, 334.
 "Coupon Election," the (1918),
 137, 149-50, 153, 155.
 Court of High Commission, 56-7;
 of Session, 109, 168, 174-9.
 Court Party, 87-9, 98.
 Court, University, 331.
 Covenant, National (1537), 43;
 (1581), 51; (1638), 58, 64-6.
 Covenanters, the, 65-7, 86-7, 198,
 258.
 Covenants, the, 259-62, 267, 280-1,
 310.
 Cowcaddens (Glasgow), 211.
 Cowgate (Edinburgh), 197.
 Coxton tower, 300.
 Crafts and craftsmen, 193, 195.
 Craig, Sir Thomas, 55.
 Craigievar tower, 300.
 Creevy, campaign of, 29.
 Cricket, 233.
 Crieff, 93, 198.
 Crimean War, 119.
 Crinan Canal, 220.
 Crockett, S. R., 320.
 Crofters' Holdings Act, 127-8,
 215.
 Crofts and crofters, 192, 210-1,
 215-6.
 Cromartie, Earl of, 92.
 Cromarty County, 158, 160. *See*
also Ross and Cromarty.
 Crome, John, 303.
 Crompton, Samuel, 203.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 60-3, 158.
 Cronin, Dr. A. J., 321.
 Cross Creek rising, 101.
 Crown and Barons, strife of, 31-2,
 323.
 Crown Matrimonial, the, 43, 47.
 Culdees, 5-6, 9-10.
 Culloden, Battle of, 93-5, 101, 207.
 Cumberland, 21.
 Cumberland, Duke of, 93-4, 100.
 Cunard Line, 221, 244.

- Cunningham, Miss Audrey, cited, 96.
 Cunningham, Rev. John, 266.
 Cupar-Fife, 299.
 Curlew, 197, 228, 328.
 Customs and Excise, 88, 99, 157, 168-72, 181, 198, 206.
 Cyanides, 255.
 Cycling, 233, 250.
 Czechoslovakia, 238.
- D
- Daft Days, The* (Fergusson), 313.
 Dairy-farming, 201, 214, 253.
 Dalkeith, 220.
 Dalmeny church, 293.
 Dalriada, 2-3.
 Damask, 218.
 Dame-schools, 331.
Dance of the Savin Daidly Synnis, The (Dunbar), 307.
 Dancing, 193, 211, 233, 249.
 Danish butter, 215.
 Danzig, 196.
 Darian Scheme, 71-3, 170, 196.
 Darlington, 220.
 Darnley, Lord, 36, 46-9.
 Darwinism, 288.
 David I, 7-19, 21.
 David II, 26-9.
 David, Earl of Huntingdon, 15-6; (son of prec.), 16, 21.
 Deacons, 182.
 Dean of Faculty of Advocates, 104, 180.
 Dean of Guild Court, 179.
Death and Doctor Hornbook (Burns), 314.
 Death-rate, 231, 247.
 Debt, National, 77, 170, 173.
 Debt, War, 138, 236.
 Deer forests, 215-6, 237.
 Defoe, Daniel, 177, 318.
 Denmark, 152, 337.
 Depopulation. *See under* Rural.
 Depressions, trade, after Waterloo, 214, 216-7; of 1857, 218; of 1878, 233; of 1921, 138, 236; of 1929-31, 147, 236, 239.
 Do-rating reform of 1929, 187.
 Derby, 92.
 Derby, Earl of, 122.
 Derwentwater, Earl of, 98.
Destiny (Ferrier), 319.
 Devolution, 124-5, 133-4, 139-40.
 Dewar, Duncan, St. Andrews student, 330-2.
 Dick, Mr. J. C., quoted, 302.
 "Dilution," 136, 235.
 Dinner, 191, 197, 208, 228.
 Dioceses, foundation of, 8-9; Episcopal, 276; Catholic, 273, 276-7.
 Directory of Public Worship, 60.
 Disease, 227-8, 230, 247-8.
 Disestablishmentarianism, 118, 121, 124, 127, 131, 133, 272, 274.
 "Disinherited," the, 27, 32.
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 115, 120-2, 271.
 Disruption, The (1843), 113, 120, 183, 260, 265-7, 269-71, 315, 333.
 Dissent, English, 89, 178, 273-4, 283, 287.
 Dissent, Presbyterian, 69-70, 113-4, 260-3, 268, 275, 280-1.
 Distilling, 205, 209.
 District Boards of Control, 185.
 Committees, 185; Councils, 186.
 Districts of burghs, 158-63.
 Divinity, study of, 329-31, 333.
 Divorce laws, 180.
 Dobson, William, 303.
 Docks, construction of, 220.
Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (Stevenson), 319.
Does Haughty Gaul Invasion threat? (Burns), 105-6.
 Domestic service, 191, 223, 240, 254.
 Donald, King of Scots, 7.
 Donald, Lord of the Isles, 31.
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor, 319.
Douglas (Homo), 261, 335.
 Douglas, Earls of, 30, 32, 34-5, 295.
 Douglas, Gavin, 308.
 Douglas, George. *See* Brown, George Douglas.
 Douglas, Sir James, 26.
 Douglas, Mr. Norman, 320-1.
 Drainie Church, 299.
 Draining of marshes, 199, 213.
 Drama in Scotland, 261, 308, 334-6.
See also Theatres.
 Draw-backs on re-exports, 169-70.
 "Dreadnoughts," 223.
 Drinking, 193, 197, 209, 229, 233-4, 249. *See also* Ale, Tea, Whisky, Wine.
 Drummlog, Battle of, 67.
 Drummond, William, of Hawthorn-den, 311.
 Drummonds, 92.
 Drunkenness. *See* Intemperance.

Dumas, Alexandre, 319.
 Dumbarton, 93, 158, 197.
 Dumbarton burghs, 143, 162.
 Dumbartonshire, 151.
 Dumfries, 24, 178.
 Dumfriesshire, 27, 91, 144, 214, 264, 284.
 Dunbar, Battle of, 62.
 Dunbar, William, 306-10, 314-5, 322.
Duncan Gray (Burns), 314.
 Duncan, King of Scots, 2-3.
 Dundas, Robert, Lord Advocate, 103.
 Dundases. *See under* Melville.
 Dundee, 25, 130-1, 144, 150, 159-60, 162, 178, 186, 196, 198, 202.
 Dundee-Newtyle Railway, 220.
 Dundee, University College, 331-2.
 Dundee, Viscount. *See* Claverhouse.
 Dundee Whig Club, 103.
 Dunfermline, 7, 153, 194, 198, 202, 212; abbey of, 10, 293.
 Dunfermline burghs, 162.
 Dunnichen, 2.
 Dunning's motion of 1780, 102.
 Dunnottar tower, 295.
 Dunvegan tower, 295.
 Dupplin Moor, Battle of, 27.
 Dupplin, Viscount, 110.
 Dutch fishing-boats, 198.
 Dyers (Litsters) and Dyeing, 195, 202.

E

E-type of tower, 299.
 Eadmar the historian, 8.
 Earlsferry. *See under* Illo.
 East India Company, 166.
 East Lothian, 27, 214, 236.
 Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, 2.
 Edgar, King of Scots, 7-8, 14, 19.
 Edgar, King of England, 17.
 Edgar the Atheling, 5.
 Edinburgh, 7, 27-8, 35, 37, 58-9, 78, 83, 99, 101, 108-9, 114, 118-9, 121, 140, 144, 158-9, 161-2, 166-8, 175-8, 186, 196-8, 201, 204, 207, 209, 211, 214, 220, 224, 226, 228-9, 231, 264, 296, 300, 303, 307, 313.
 Edinburgh, East, 142; North, 142; West, 143.
 Edinburgh Castle, 49, 294, 301.
 Edinburgh College buildings, 300.

Edinburgh Courant, The, 336.
 Edinburgh Regiment, 93-4.
Edinburgh Review, 107-8, 318, 336.
 Edinburgh University, 211, 327-30.
 Edinburgh-Dalkeith railway line, 220.
 Edinburgh-Glasgow railway line, 220.
 Edinburghshire. *See* Midlothian.
 Edmund, King, 7.
 Education, 107, 113, 120-1, 167, 182-7, 231, 245, 256, 279, 322-34.
 Education Act, 1496, 323; 1696, 326; 1872, 120-1, 184, 333; 1918, 185, 333-4.
 Education Authorities, 185, 333-4.
 Education Department, Scottish, 334.
 Edward I of England, 4, 21-6.
 Edward II, 21, 25-6.
 Edward III, 26-9.
 Edward IV, 34.
 Edward VI, 41.
 Edward, Prince, son of Malcolm III, 6.
 Eglinton, Earl of, 199.
 Elcho, Lord (the Jacobite), 93; (Victorian politician), 114.
 Elders, 182.
 Electoral qualifications. *See* Franchise.
 Electrical industry, 222, 241, 254, 256.
 Electricity, 184, 230, 242.
 Elgin Cathedral, 293.
 Elginshire. *See* Moray.
 Elie and Earlsferry, 246-7.
 Elizabeth, Queen of England, 43-7, 49, 51.
 Elliot, Mr. Walter, cited, 82.
 Elmonton, study of, 331.
 Elphinstone tower, 295.
 Elphinstone, William, Bishop of Aberdeen, 36, 324.
 Emigration, 207, 210-1, 229, 239, 251.
 Empire, the. *See* British Empire.
 "Engagement," the, 61-3.
 Engineering, 136, 219, 221-3, 239-40; Faculty of (Universities), 333.
 England, Church of. *See* Church of England.
 English influences in medieval Scotland, 3-19, 292, 305-6; in modern Scotland, 179-80, 309, 311-2, 316-7, 322, 336, 338.

- English, study of, 326, 331.
 "Enlightenment," the, 83, 263, 300, 303, 312, 330, 335.
 Entail Act (1770), 200.
 Ephesus, 69.
 Episcopacy, 50-3, 55-8, 63-6, 89, 96, 100, 177-8, 258-9, 261, 263-4, 273, 275-8, 281-3, 299, 311-2, 331, 333.
Epitaph on Sanny Briggs (Sempill), 310.
 "Equivalent," the, 77, 88, 170-1.
 Erastianism, 268.
 Eric, King of Norway, 19-20.
 Erskine, Henry, 104, 107.
 Erskine, John, 175.
 Erskine, Lord, 111.
 Establishment, the. *See* Church of Scotland.
 Ethics, study of, 328.
 Evangelical Union, 283.
 "Evangelical" party, 103-5, 108, 120, 261-2, 266-72, 280.
Evergreen, The (Ramsay), 313.
 Evolution, 288.
 Exchequer (British), 109, 168, 172, 181, 187; Court of (in England), 176-7; Court of (in Scotland), 168, 176-8.
 Excise. *See* Customs and Excise.
 Executive Government. *See* Administration.
 Expenditure upon Scotland, 172-4, 187.
 Exports, 90, 169-70, 193-4, 197, 203-6, 217, 222, 234-5, 238-9, 242, 244, 254.
 IF
 Factories, 202-3, 214, 216-9, 222, 254, 256.
 Factory laws, 242.
 Faculty of Advocates, 104.
 Fairs, 192-3, 226, 233.
 Falaise, Treaty of, 17-8.
 Falkirk, 160, 193, 220. *See also* Stirling and Falkirk burghs.
 Falkirk, Battle of (1298), 23; (1745), 94-5.
 Falkland Palace, 40, 294.
 Fallowing introduced, 189, 200.
 Family, the Lowland, 11-2.
 Farmers, 189-93, 199-201, 213-5, 225-6, 236-7.
 Farming. *See* Agriculture.
 Farm-labourers, 161, 191-3, 208-10, 213, 215, 225-6, 233.
 Fascism, 242.
 "Fashoda Incident," 129.
 Fastern's E'en, 226, 327.
 Fergusson, James, quoted, 300.
 Fergusson, Robert, 307, 313-4, 320.
 Ferrier, Susan, 319.
 Feudalism, 10-2, 96-7, 174, 176, 188-9, 193, 199, 207-8, 292, 294.
 Fairs Prices, 274.
 Fielding, Henry, 318.
 Fife, 14, 93, 158, 161-2, 196, 201-2, 205, 214, 217, 219, 236.
 Fife, East, 144, 151, 162.
 Fife, West, 144, 162.
 Fife, Howe of, 214.
 Fife, "nation" of, 325.
 Fifteen, The, 90-5, 98, 164, 263.
 Finance, Scottish, 39, 77, 88, 90, 99, 120, 141, 152, 157, 167-74, 187, 245.
 Findlater, Lord, 199.
 Fine arts in Scotland, 292-304.
 First Pointed style, 292.
 Fish and Fishing, 144, 170, 190-4, 196-8, 220, 222, 228, 237, 242, 247.
 Fisheries, Board of, 166-7.
 FitzAlans (Stewarts), 11.
 FitzJames, 4.
 FitzRoland, Alan, 13.
 Flamboyant Gothic, 292.
 Flax, 190, 194, 196, 201-2, 216, 218, 240. *See also* Linen.
 Fleming, D. Hay, 281.
 Flemings and Flemish influences, 12, 196.
 Fleshers. *See* Butchers.
 Fletcher, Andrew, of Saltoun, 87, 312.
 Flodden, Battle of, 30, 37.
Flying of Dunbar and Kennady, The, 307.
Flying of Montgomerie and Hume, The, 310.
 Folk-song in Scotland, 297, 301-3, 314.
 Fontenoy, Battle of, 101.
 Food, 191-2, 195, 197, 208-9, 225-6, 228-9, 232-3, 247, 249, 254.
 Football, 228, 233.
 Forbes, Duncan, of Culloden, 92, 99-100, 164-5, 172.
 Forbes-Mackenzie Act, 118.

Fordel Church, 299.
 Foreign Secretary, 164.
 Forfarshire. *See* Angus.
 Forster's rising, 91, 93.
 Forth, Firth of, 194, 242.
 Forth and Clyde Canal, 205.
 Fortress, 247.
 'Forty-Five, The, 91-6, 100, 165, 172, 210, 264.
 "Forward Movement," the, 285, 286.
 Foulis printing-press, 211.
 Fox, Charles James, 110.
 Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, 309.
 France, 27-31, 33, 36-7, 39-43, 55, 85-6, 88, 91, 96, 103-7, 172, 196, 205, 252, 294, 296-7, 304, 319, 337.
 Franchise, 109, 114, 119-20, 122, 137, 140, 158, 160-2, 183.
 Francis I of France, 39.
 Francis II of France, 42-4.
 Franco-Scottish Alliance. *See* Auld Alliance.
 Frasers, 31, 92, 95.
 Free Church, 119-20, 178, 267-73, 286, 333; (after 1900), 131, 178, 272-3, 276-7, 280.
 Freedom of trade with England, 62-3, 70, 74-7, 167-70, 198-9.
 Freeman, E. A., cited, 4.
 Free Presbyterian Church, 270, 276-7, 280.
 Free Trade, 114, 116-7, 130, 151, 238, 242.
 French, study of, 331.
 French châteaux, 198.
 French influences on Scottish culture, 33, 196, 292-4, 300.
 French Revolution, 103-4, 107, 110-1, 166, 265.
 Friends of the People, Society of the, 103-4, 112.
 Fruit, 209, 247, 249.
 Fullers, 195.
 Funerals, 193, 226.

G

Gaelic language and literature, 3-4, 6, 13, 302, 315-6, 338.
 Gaels, 1-4.
 Gainsborough, Thomas, 303.
 Galashiels, 203.
Gallie War (Caesar), 311.
 Galloway, 7, 13-4, 19, 23, 144, 149, 200-1, 214.

Gallowgate (Glasgow), 231.
 Galston, 232.
 Galt, John, 319.
 Gardeners, 195.
 "Gardylloo," 197.
 Gas, 184, 227, 230, 242.
 General Assembly. *See* Assembly, General.
Gentle Shepherd, The (Ramsay), 312-3.
 Geography, study of, 331.
 George I, 90, 97-8.
 George II, 97.
 George III, 101-2.
 George, Mr. David Lloyd, 136-8.
 Georgin, 210.
 Georgian architecture, 298.
 German mercenaries in Scotland, 42.
 Germany, 80, 172, 223, 237, 242, 252, 297-8, 304.
 Gibbon, Lewis Grassie (Mr. J. Leslie Mitchell), 317-8, 321-2.
 Gingham, 217.
 Gladstone, William E., 116, 120-6, 128, 133, 144, 161, 166, 272.
 Glamis Castle, 300.
 Glasgow, 58, 93, 99, 101, 108, 129, 140, 142-3, 178, 186, 196-8, 202-7, 209, 211-2, 214, 220, 224-31, 233, 247, 251, 255, 264, 286, 300-1, 303.
 Glasgow Cathedral, 293.
 Glasgow College buildings, 299.
 Glasgow Fair, 228.
Glasgow Herald, 116, 125, 130, 287, 336-7.
 Glasgow University, 33, 151, 211, 322, 325-6, 328-30, 339.
 Glasgow and Ayr, Synod of, 64.
 Glasgow and South-Western Railway, 220.
 Glass and glass-making, 205, 208, 210, 223, 241.
 Glencoe, Massacre of, 71-2.
 Glencig, Lord, 111.
 Glengarry Regiment, 94-5.
 Glenshiel, skirmish at, 91.
 Gloucester, Duke of, 74.
 Godolphin, Earl of, 88.
 Godwin, Earl, 7.
 Golden Act of 1592, 52, 69.
 Goldsmiths, 195.
Goldyn Targe, The (Dunbar), 306-7.
 Golf, 228, 233, 249.
 Gorbals, 211.
 Gorbals division (Glasgow), 143, 163.

- Gordon, General Charles, 122.
 Gordon, Lord George, 102.
 Gordons, 12, 92, 94, 199.
 Gothic styles in architecture, 292-3, 297-9.
 Govan, 212, 224, 232.
 Governesses, 191.
 Government of Scotland Bill (1913, 1914), 133-4.
 Gowrie, Carse of, 214.
 Graham, Mr. R. B. Cunningham, 127, 141, 321.
 Graham, Thomas, 303.
 Graham, William, 146.
 Grammar schools, 323, 325-7.
 Grand Committee, Scottish, 128, 133.
 Grand Remonstrance, 82.
 Grangemouth, 193, 212.
 Granite, 205, 212.
 Grant, Charles. *See* Glenelg, Lord.
 Grant, James, 319.
 Grant, Lord Advocate, 100.
 Grant of Monymusk, 199.
 Grants, 92.
 Grants-in-aid, Treasury, 187.
 Grasses, introduction of new, 199-200.
 Great Council, 12, 82.
 Great North of Scotland Railway, 220.
 Great Western Road (Glasgow), 300.
 Greek, study of, 328-9, 331.
 Greon, J. R., cited, 4, 23.
 Greenknowe tower, 300.
 Greonock, 142-3, 153, 160, 162, 183, 198, 209, 212, 221, 224, 229.
 Greenshields case, 89, 177, 259, 263.
 Greyfriars Churchyard (Edinburgh), 67.
Grey Granite (Gibbon), 321.
 Grieve, Mr. C. M., 141. *See also* MacDiarmid, Hugh.
 Grouse moors, 215.
Gude and Godlie Ballatis, The (Wedderburn), 297.
 Guildry and guild-brethren, 193.
 Gunn, Mr. Neil, 320.
 Gustavus Adolphus, 59.
 Guthrie, Sir James, 303-4.
Guy Mannering (Scott), 317.
- H
- Habeas Corpus Act, 104.
 Haco, King of Norway, 19.
 Haddington, Earl of, 199.
 Haddington burghs, 161.
 Haddingtonshire, 27, 162. *See also* East Lothian.
 Haematite ore, 223.
 Haldane, Viscount, 146, 318.
 Haldanes, the, 283.
 Halidon Hill, Battle of, 27.
 Hallowe'en, 226, 233.
Hallowe'en (Burns), 105, 314.
Hallow Fair (Fergusson), 313.
 Hamilton, Duke of, 76-7, 90.
 Hamilton, Elizabeth, 319.
 Hamilton, William, 312.
 Hamilton division (Lanarkshire), 162.
 Hamiltons, 46-7.
 Hand-loom, 202, 216-7, 222.
 Handsel Monday, 226, 233.
 Hanover, house of, and Hanoverian Succession, 74-7, 83, 87, 96-7, 100, 188.
Ha, now the day dawis, 297, 310.
 Hapsburg, house of, 45-6.
 Harbours, 220.
 Hardie, Keir, 127.
 Hargreaves, James, 203.
 Harlaw, Battle of, 30-1.
 Harley, Robert (Earl of Oxford), 164.
 Harrows, 200.
 Harry, Blind (Henry the Minstrel), 304.
 Harvest-home, 226.
 Harvey, Sir George, 303.
 Hatton tower, 300.
 Hawick, 217.
 Hawick burghs, 160.
 Hawking, 210.
 "Heads of Proposals," 61.
 Health, Department (Board) of, for Scotland, 167, 185, 245.
 Health, Public, 184, 186-7, 227-8, 231, 245, 247.
 "Heavy industries," 138, 216, 219-24, 238-41, 252-3, 255.
 Hebdomadair, 328.
 Hebrew, study of, 329-31.
 Hebrides, 19.
 Heckling flax, 194, 202.
 Hemp, 219, 240.
 Henderson, Alexander, 59, 260, 278.
 Henderson, Mr. Arthur, 146.
 Henderson, Mr. Thomas, 339.
 Henry I of England, 8, 15, 17.
 Henry II, 15-8.
 Henry III, 20.

- Henry IV, 30-1.
 Henry V, 30.
 Henry VI, 31.
 Henry VII, 36.
 Henry VIII, 36-42.
 Henry, George, 303.
 Henryson, Robert, 306, 309-10, 314, 322.
 Hens. *See* Poultry.
 Heresy, Presbyterian, 261-2, 270.
 Heriot's Hospital (Edinburgh), 299.
 Heritable jurisdictions, 100, 176-7, 179, 180-2, 207-8.
 Herring, 194, 197, 225.
 Hertford, Earl of (Duke of Somerset), 41-2.
 Hides, 196.
 High Court of Justiciary, 176-9.
 High Street (Edinburgh), 197, 296, 300.
 High Street (Glasgow), 231.
 Highland regiments, 100-1, 207.
 Highlands and Highlanders, 7, 13, 23, 35, 54, 70-2, 91-7, 100-1, 127-8, 144, 163, 188-90, 192, 194, 200, 202-4, 207-8, 210-1, 215-6, 226, 230, 250-1, 264, 270, 276, 280, 286, 313-6, 327.
 "Hiking," 250.
 Hillhead division (Glasgow), 143.
History and Cronicles of Scotland (Titscotte), 311.
 History as a University study, 329, 331, 333, 339.
History of the Reformation of Religion (Knox), 309, 311.
 Hoeing, introduction of, 199-200.
 Hogg, James, 315, 317, 336.
 Hognanny, 226, 233.
 Holbein, Hans, 303.
 Holidays, 230, 233, 326-7, 330.
 Holland, 62, 67, 80, 198, 252, 329.
Holy Fair, The (Burns), 314.
Holy Willie's Prayer (Burns), 314.
 Holyrood, Abbey and Palace of, 9-10, 68, 293, 299.
 Home, Rev. John, 261, 335.
 Home Rule, Irish, 116, 122, 124-5, 128-9, 132-5, 134; Scottish, 123-5, 127-9, 131, 133-5, 140-2, 150-5.
 Home Secretary, 164-6.
 Homildon Hill, Battle of, 30.
 Horse-races, 226, 228.
 Horses, 192, 198, 210, 236.
 Hository, 217, 219, 238, 245.
 Hospitals, 227, 230, 247.
 Hot-blast furnace, invention of, 219.
 Hotels. *See* Inns.
 House builders, 223, 254.
House with the Green Shutters, The (Brown), 320-2.
 Housing, 184, 186, 191-2, 196-8, 210-2, 225-8, 230-2, 235, 245-7, 254, 256, 301.
 Howe of Fife, 214.
 Hume, David, 312.
 Hume of Godscroft, 311.
 Hume of Polwarth, 310.
 Huntingdon, Earldom of, 16-8; Earls of, *see under* David.
 Huntly, Earl of, 43.
 Huntly Castle, 300.
 Hydro-electric power, 241, 256.
 Hygiene. *See* Sanitation.
- I
- "Ideal Home" Exhibitions, 254.
 Illegitimacy, 225.
 Immigration to Scotland, 225, 229, 248, 273.
 Imperial Conference, of 1926, 80; of 1932, 243.
 Imperial Preference, 242.
 Imperialism, 84, 122, 129-30, 134, 151, 154-5.
 Imports, 169-70, 205-6, 235, 238-9, 242-4.
 Improvements Acts of 1866, etc., 230.
 Improvers, the Society of, 199, 201.
 Inchkeith, 121.
 Independent Labour Party, 146, 150-1, 153-4.
 Independent Liberals, 114-7.
 India, 165-6, 218, 221, 224, 238.
 Indies, West, 206.
 Indulgence, Letters of, 68.
 Industrial Revolution, 112, 202-5, 216-22, 291, 314.
 Infantile mortality, 231, 235, 247.
 Infield and outfield, 189, 213.
 Infirmary, Royal (Glasgow), 301.
Inhoritance, The (Ferrier), 319.
 Inns and inn-keeping, 191-2, 199, 233.
Institute of the Law of Scotland, (Erskine), 175.
Institutions of the Law of Scotland (Stair), 175.
 Insurance, National, 127, 132, 187, 231, 233, 238-9, 245, 247, 256.

Intemperance, 209, 229, 233-4, 249.
 Inventions, mechanical, 199-201,
 203-4, 217, 219, 221.
Inventary, The (Burns), 314.
 Inveraray, 92-4, 178.
 Invergordon, 172.
 Invergowrie, 7.
 Inverness, 92, 178, 198.
 Inverness-shire, 92, 162, 264, 284.
 Iona, 2.
 Ireland, 26, 80, 132-5, 139, 157, 160,
 229; religion in, 66, 118, 121,
 284.
 Ireland, Northern, 163, 196, 245,
 248.
 Irish Finance, 168.
 Irish Free State, 138, 163.
 Irish literature, 316.
 Irish Nationalists, 115, 137.
 Irish politics, 114-5, 120, 128-30,
 137. *See also* Home Rule, Irish.
 Irish settlers in Scotland, 141, 225-
 8, 248, 273, 283-5.
 Irish soldiers, 66, 95.
 Iron, 194-5, 203-4, 219, 221-4,
 234-5, 238-40, 242-4, 252-3.
 Islay, Lord. *See* Argyll, third
 Duke of.
 Isles, Lord of the, 28, 31, 34-5.
Is There for Honest Poverty (Burns),
 107.
 Italy, 174, 238, 242, 252, 284, 304.
Ivanhoe (Scott), 317.

J

Jacob, Miss Violet, 315.
 Jacobites and Jacobitism, 76-8,
 87-98, 100-1, 263-4, 316.
 Jamaica, 72-3.
 James I of Scotland, 10, 30, 39,
 305-6, 309, 314.
 James II, 32-3.
 James III, 19, 34-5, 39.
 James IV, 35-8, 294, 306, 323.
 James V, 38-40, 294, 304, 308.
 James VI and I, 47, 51-7, 70, 176,
 278, 326.
 James VII and II, 67-9, 83.
 James, Prince (the Old Pretender),
 74, 90-1.
 Jameses, the, 296-7, 323.
 Jamesone, George, 303.
 Japan, 238, 252.
 Jedburgh, 178; Abbey of, 293.
 Jeffrey, Francis, 104, 109, 336.

Jews, in Scotland, 277; in England,
 287.
 Joan Beaufort, 305.
 Joan of Arc, 31.
 John (Balliol), King of Scotland,
 21-3.
 John, King of England, 15, 18, 20.
 Johnson, Robert, 297.
 Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 329.
Jolly Beggars, The (Burns), 106,
 310, 314.
 Jones, Mr. Thomas, quoted, 231.
 Jubilee, Diamond, 129.
 "Judicial Testimony" of 1736,
 261.
 Jury-Court, the, 178.
 Justice-Clerk, Lord, 176, 178.
 Justice-General, Lord, 176, 178.
 Justices of the Peace, 88, 176-7,
 179-82, 184.
 Justiciar, Lord High, 176.
 Justiciary. *See under* High Court
 and Commissioners.
 Jute, 218-9, 224, 240, 242, 253.

K

Kail, 191-2, 208, 225.
 "Kailyard" school, 320, 335.
 Kames, Lord, 199.
 Katrine, Loch, 230.
 Kay's spinning machine, 217.
 Kelso Abbey, 9, 293.
 Kelvin, Lord, 318.
Kenilworth (Scott), 317.
 Kenmure, Lord, 98.
 Kennedy, James, Bishop of St.
 Andrews, 34, 324.
 Kennedy, Walter, 307-8.
 Kennedy-Fraser, Mrs. Marjorie,
 302, 316.
 Kenneth MacAlpin, 2.
 Keppoch, Macdonalds of, 94.
 Kerrera, 19.
 "Khaki Election" of 1900, 129-30.
Kidnapped (Stevenson), 319.
 Killiecrankie, Battle of, 69.
 "Killing Time," the, 67.
 Kilmarnock, 160, 193-4, 198, 217,
 224-5.
 Kilmarnock bonnets, 194.
 Kilmarnock division (Ayrshire),
 147, 149, 151-3, 162.
 Kilmarnock Edition of Burns, 106.
 Kilsyth, 232.
 Kilwinning Abbey, 9.

- Kincardine, 201. *See also* Mearns.
King Hart (Douglas), 308.
 Kinghorn, 20.
Kingis Quair (James I), 305-6.
 Kingussie, 247.
 Kinloss Priory, 14.
 Kinross-shire, 158, 160, 224, 246.
 Kirk, the. *See* Church of Scotland.
 Kirkcaldy, 202, 218.
 Kirkcaldy burghs, 142, 162.
 Kirkcudbrightshire, 10, 246-7.
 Kirkintilloch, 220.
Kirk's Alarm, The (Burus), 314.
 Kirk-sessions, 56-7, 180, 182-4, 258.
 Kirkwall Cathedral, 293.
 Knox, John, 43-6, 56, 85-6, 182, 200, 278, 281, 296, 309, 311, 315, 322.
 "Knox's House, John" (Edinburgh), 296.
 Königsberg, 196.
 Kyle, 11.
- L
- L-type of tower, 295.
 Labour Party. *See* Socialists.
 Lace, 219.
Lady of the Lake (Scott) cited, 4, 13.
 Lagny, Battle of, 31.
 Lairds, life of, 191-2, 210.
Laissez-faire, 242.
Lament for the Makaris (Duubar), 307.
 Lanarkshire, 144, 149, 160-2, 201-3, 217, 219.
 Lanarkshire, North-West, 127.
 Lancashire, 218.
 Lancaster and York, 34.
 Land-deeds, registration of, 180.
 Landowners, 191-2, 199-201, 207-8, 210, 215-6.
 Land-settlement, 216, 249-50, 253.
 Land-tax, 157, 168-9, 182.
 Land-tenures, 10-2, 188-9, 200-1, 213, 215.
 Laufranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, 5.
 Lang, Andrew, 378.
 Langholm, Battle of, 32.
 Langside, Battle of, 49.
 Largs, Battle of, 19.
Last Speech of a Wretched Miser (Ramsay), 313.
 Lateran Council of 1139, 5.
 Latin, study of, 323-4, 326, 328-9, 331, 333.
 Latin works, 304-5, 308, 311, 322.
 Laud, Archbishop William, 57, 310.
 Lauder Bridge, 35, 297.
 Lauderdale, Duke of, 66-7, 164, 310.
 Laurence of Lindores, 324.
 Lavery, Sir John, 303.
 Law, Scots, 81, 174-80; study of, 329-30, 333.
 Law, Mr. A. Bonar, 138.
 Law-courts, 174-81, 196.
 Law Lords, Committee of, 178.
 Lawn, 202.
 Lawnmarket (Edinburgh), 197, 296.
 Lawrence, Sir Thomas, 303.
Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers (Ayloun), 317.
 Lead-mining, 194-5.
 League of Nations, 138.
 Leases, granting of, 189, 199-201.
 Leather industry, 205, 223.
 Lee, Dr. Robert, 270.
 Leith, 142-3, 160, 162, 183, 196, 209, 212, 220-1, 221, 229, 238.
Leith Races (Fergusson), 313.
 Lemons, 209.
 Lennox, Earl of (Regent), 36, 46, 49; Duke of (Esmé Stewart), 51.
 Lesley, Bishop John, 311.
 Leslie, Alexander, 59.
 Lesmahagow, 9.
Letters and Journals (Baillie), 311.
Letters of Malachi Malagrowther (Scott), 109.
 Leuchars Church, 293.
 "Levellers" of Galloway, 102, 200.
 Liberal League, 130.
 Liberal Nationalism, 153.
 Liberals and Liberalism, Chapter V *passim*, 166, 271, 314, 337.
 Libraries, lending, 229.
Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan (Sempill), 310.
 "Lifting" cattle, 190.
 Lighthouses, 220; Board of, 166.
 Lighting, 184, 186, 227.
 Lime-fertilising, 213.
 Lindores Abbey, 9.
 Lindsay of Pittcottie. *See* Pittcottie.
 Linen, 90, 171, 190, 192, 194, 196-9, 201-6, 209, 216-9, 238, 240.
 Linklater, Mr. Eric, 321.
 Linlithgow Palace, 40, 294.

- Linlithgowshire, 27. *See also* West Lothian.
 Linoleum, 218.
 Lint-mills, 202.
 Lismore, Bishopric of, 8.
 Literature, Scottish, 304-22, 338-9.
 Lithgow, William, 312.
 Litsters (Dyers), 195.
Little Minister, The (Barrio), 320.
 "Little" Theatres, 335.
 Liturgy, Laud's. *See* Prayer-Book of 1637.
 Liverpool, Lord, 111.
 Liverpool-Manchester Railway, 220.
 Local government, 122, 127-8, 140, 180-7.
 Local Government Board, 128, 166, 185.
 Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929, 140, 185-7, 334.
 Lochgully, 232.
 Loehiel, 95.
 Loch Leven Castle, 48.
 Locke, John, 86, 330.
 Lockhart, J. G., 317-8, 336.
 Locomotives, 220-2, 235, 255.
 Lodger's vote, 119, 160-1.
Lodging for the Night, A (Stevenson), 319.
 Logic, study of, 328, 331, 333.
 Lomond, Loch, 93.
 London, 77, 102, 151-2, 164, 168, 204, 209, 214, 251, 254-5, 306, 313, 336-7, 339.
 Lord of the Isles, 28, 31, 34-5.
 Lord President. *See* President.
 Lords, House of, 74, 84, 90, 127, 131-2, 157-8, 177-8, 272.
 Lords Commissioners of Justiciary, *See* Commissioners.
 Lords Ordainers, 82.
 Lords of Session, 175-6, 178-80.
 Lords of the Congregation, 43-4, 278.
 Lorimer, Sir Robert, 301.
 Lothian, "nation" of, 325.
 Lothian, 2-4, 6-7, 149, 201, 214.
See also East Lothian, Midlothian and West Lothian.
 Loudoun, third Earl of, 199; fourth Earl of, 93, 95.
 Loudoun Hill, Battle of, 25.
 Loughborough, Lord, 110-1.
 Louis XI of France, 31, 34-5.
 Louis XII, 36.
 Louis XIV, 75, 88.
 Lovat, Lord (Simon Fraser), 92, 95, 100.
 Low Countries, 196. *See also* Holland.
Loyal Clans, The (Cunningham), cited, 96.
 Lumphanan, Battle of, 3.
 Lunacy, 184-5.
 Luther, Martin, 296.
 Lyell, Sir Charles, 318.
 Lyndsay, Sir David, 308, 314, 335.

M

- Macadam, John, 220.
 Macaulay, T. B. (Lord), 114, 117-8.
 Macbeth, King of Scots, 3, 5.
 MacCormick, Mr. John, 141.
 McCrie, Thomas, 281.
 MacDiarmid, Hugh (Mr. C. M. Grieve), 317-8.
 Macdonald, Alexander, 316.
 Macdonald, Flora, 101.
 Macdonald, George, 319.
 MacDonald, Mr. J. Ramsay, 139, 146.
 Macdonalds, 92, 94-5.
 MacGibbon, D., 296, 299.
 Macgregors, 92-3.
 MacHeth, Malcolm, 13.
 Machinery, manufacture of, 221, 239, 242, 254.
 MacIntyre, Duncan Ban, 316.
 Mackay, Charles, 317.
 Mackays, 31, 92.
 Mackenzie, Mr. Compton, 141, 151, 321.
 Mackenzie, Henry, 318.
 Mackenzie, Dr. W. Mackay, quoted, 295.
 Mackenzies, 92.
 Mackinnon, Professor James, cited, 78.
 Mackintosh, Charles R., 301.
 Mackintosh of Borlum, 91.
 McLaron, Duncan, 117-27.
 Macleans, 92.
 Macleod, Dr. Norman, 269, 318.
 Macleods, 92.
 Macpherson's *Ossian*, 301, 316.
 McTaggart, William, 303.
 Magna Carta, 82.
 Magnus, King of Man, 19.
 Magus Moor, 66.
 Mahdi, War against the, 129.
 Mail-coaches, 204.

- Maitland, Sir Richard, 310.
 Major, John, 37, 85-6, 305, 322, 324.
 Makars, the Scots, 305-10.
 Malcolm II, King of Scots, 2-3.
 Malcolm III (Canmore), 3-7, 13-4, 17-8.
 Malcolm IV, 10, 13, 16-8.
 Malory, Sir Thomas, 318.
 Malt-dutty, 90, 99, 170-1, 193, 208.
 Maltmen, 195.
 "Manager," the, 102, 107, 109, 165-6.
 Manchester, 220.
 Manchester Regiment, 93.
 Munkatten Island, 196-7.
Man of Feeling, The (Mackenzie), 318.
Man of the World, The (Mackenzie), 318.
 Mansfield, Earl of (Viscount Stormont), 110.
 "Manufacturers" (textile), 202-3, 217.
 Manuring, 189, 200.
Man Was Made to Mourn (Burns), 314.
 Mar, Earldom of, 31.
 Mar, Earls of--(brother of James III), 34; (Regent for James VI), 49; (Jacobite leader), 91, 94, 164.
 Mar, "nation" of, 325.
 Margaret, Queen (wife of Canmore), 5-10, 13; (wife of James III), 19, 34; (wife of James IV), 36, 38-9, 306.
 Margaret, wife of Eric of Norway, 20.
 Margaret, Maid of Norway, 20-1.
 Margarine, 247.
 Marine engineering, 221-3, 244.
 Marischal College (Aberdeen), 328, 331.
 Marjory Bruce, 28.
 Marlborough, Duke of, 75.
Marrow of Modern Divinity, 262.
 Marshal, the, 12.
 Marston Moor, Battle of, 60.
 Marxism, 113.
 Mary, Queen of Scots, 40-9, 51, 90, 278, 338.
 Mary of Guise, wife of James V, 39, 42-4; her house (Edinburgh), 296.
Mary Ross (Barrie), 335.
 Mary Tudor, Queen of England, 39, 42, 46.
 Maryhill division (Glasgow), 143.
 Masons. See Wrights and Masons.
 Masque Theatre, 335.
 Masson, Professor David, 318.
 Mathematics, study of, 331, 333.
 Matilda, David I's wife, 8, 15-7.
 Matilda of Scotland, Henry I's wife, 8.
 Matilda the Empress, daughter of Henry I, 15.
 Maupassant, Guy de, 320.
 Maxton, Mr. James, 150.
 Maynooth College, 118.
 Meal. See Oatmeal.
 Mealmaker, George, 105.
 Mearns, 7, 214.
 Meal, 170, 191-3, 197, 208, 214-5, 226, 228, 243, 247, 329.
Medieval Castle in Scotland, The (Mackenzie), 205.
 Medicine, 227-8, 230-1, 329-30, 333.
 Meikles, inventors, 199.
 Melrose Abbey, 293, 306.
Melrose Chronicle, cited, 14.
 Melville, Andrew, 50-1, 53, 55, 258, 260, 278, 281, 309, 325-6, 328-9.
 Melville, James, 300, 311.
 Melville, first Viscount (Henry Dundas), 102-3, 107, 111, 148, 165-6; second Viscount, 107, 111.
 Mercantile law, 179-80.
 Merchants. See Guildry.
 Metallurgical group. See "Heavy industries."
 Methodist Church in Scotland, 274, 276-7, 283.
 Methven, Battle of, 25.
 Mexico, 284.
 Midlands, English, 254-5.
 Midlothian, 27, 214, 236.
 Midlothian Campaign, Gladstone's, 121.
 Midwifery, 320.
 Military defences, 121, 130-1, 172.
 Militia, Scottish, 101, 105.
 Milk, 192, 225, 243, 249, 254, 329.
 Millar, Mr. Robb, 335.
 Miller, Hugh, 318.
 Milling dues, 189.
 Milngavie, 251.
 Mining and miners, 140, 194-5, 203-5, 208, 219-24, 239-40, 244, 250, 254, 256. See also Coal.
 "Ministry of All the Talents," 107.
 Missions, foreign, 266.
 Mitchison, Mrs. Naomi, 321.

- "Moderate" party (in Church), 103, 108, 208, 261-6, 280, 312, 330.
 "Moderate" party in municipal politics, 143.
 Monasteries, 5, 9-10, 292-3.
 Monkland and Kirkcaldy Railway, 220.
 Monkland Canal, 205.
 Monmouth, Duke of, 67.
 Montgomerie, Alexander, 310.
 Montrose, 91, 121, 202.
 Montrose, Marquis of, 58-60; first Duke of, 98, 164; third Duke of, 111; sixth Duke of, 152.
 Montrose burghs, 142-3, 151, 162.
 Monymusk, Grant of, 199.
Moral Fabillis of Esops, The (Henryson), 306.
 Moral Philosophy, study of, 331.
 Moray, 7, 13, 15, 160.
 Moray, Earl of (Angus), 13.
 Moray, "nation" of, 325.
 Moreville, de, 13.
 Morley, John, 130.
 Morton, Earl of (Regent), 48-51, 71.
 Motherwell, 219, 222, 232; and Wishaw, 247.
 Motherwell division (Lanarkshire), 142, 162.
 Motors and motoring, 233, 241, 249-50, 254-6.
 Mugdock, 251.
 Muir, Thomas, 104.
 Multures, 189.
 Municipal elections, 143, 150, 153-4, 183.
 Munitions, 136, 234-5.
 Munro, Mr. Neil, 320.
 Munroes, 92.
 Murray, Charles, 315.
 Murray, Earl of (Regent), 46-9, 71.
 Murray, Lord George, 92-5.
 Murray, Sir George, 111.
 Murray of Broughton, 92, 100.
 Murrays, 92, 94.
 Mushet, David, 219.
 Music, Scottish, 296-8, 301-3.
 Muslin, 209, 217.
 Mutton, 191, 197, 214-5, 226, 243.
 Napoleon, 80, 107.
 Napoleonic Wars, 213, 216, 229.
 Naseby, Battle of, 60.
 National Assembly, 103.
 National Bank of Scotland, 212-3.
 National Covenant. *See* Covenant, National.
 National Government (of 1931), 147-9, 151-3, 242.
 National Grid Scheme, 241.
 Nationalism in Scotland, 84-5, 87, 109-10, 112, 123, 135, 155. *See* also Home Rule, Scottish, Scottish Nationalist Party, Scottish Party.
 Nationalists, Irish, 115, 137.
 "Nations" at the Universities, 325.
 Natural Philosophy, study of, 328, 331.
 Naval bases, 130-1, 172.
 Navigation Acts, 70, 196, 205, 220.
 Navy, Scottish, 35; British, 223, 234-5.
 Nechtansmere, Battle of, 2.
 Neilson's hot-blast furnace, 219.
 Neville's Cross, Battle of, 29.
 Newburn, Battle of, 59.
 Newcastle, occupation of, 59, 61.
 "New Light," the, 267-8.
 New Model Army, 60.
 Newport, 247.
 Newspapers. *See* Press.
 Newtonian Physics, study of, 329.
 "New Town" of Edinburgh, 211, 226.
 Newtyle, 220.
 New Year, celebration of, 226, 233, 330.
 New York, City of, 196-7; Province of, 210.
 New Zealand, 215.
 Ninian, St., 1.
 Nobles, Scottish. *See* Peerage.
 Norham-on-Tweed, conference at, 22.
 Nor' Loch (Edinburgh), 211.
 Norman influences in Scotland, 5-15, 292-3.
 Norsemen in Scotland, 2-3, 7, 17, 19-20.
 North, Lord, 102, 170.
 Northallerton, Battle at, 15.
 Northampton, Treaty of, 26-7.
 North Bridge (Edinburgh), 211.
 North British Railway, 220.
 North-Eastern Railway, 220.
 Northern Secretary, 164-5.

N

Nairne, Lady, 95, 315.
 Nairnshire, 158, 160, 246-7.

Northumberland, 8, 15-8, 25.
 Northumbria, kingdom of, 1-3.
 Norway, 19, 291.
 "Not proven" verdict, 180.
 Novel, the Scottish, 316-22.
 Novices' schools, 323.
 Nurses, 227.

O

Oat-cakes, 191, 208, 225, 228, 232.
 Oatmeal, 189, 192, 329.
 Oats, 170, 189, 193, 214-5, 234, 236-7, 243.
 Oban, 166.
 Ogilvies, 92.
 Oglethorpe, General, 210.
 Oil, 223; oil-from-coal, 256.
 Old Lights. *See* Auld Lights.
 Old Mortality (Scott), 317.
 Old Whigs, 114, 120, 125.
 Oliphant, Mrs., 319.
 Onions, 191, 208.
 Oranges, 209.
 Orkney, Sir William, 303.
 Ordainers, Lords, 82.
 Ordination, The (Burns), 314.
 Oriental Languages, study of, 331;
 See also Hebrew.
 Original Secession, 260-3, 267-8.
 Orkney, 19, 34, 246; and Shetland,
 129-30.
 Orleans, relief of, 31.
 Ormiston, Cockburn of, 199.
Orpheus and Eurydice (Henryson),
 305.
Orygynall Cronikil (Wyntoun), 304.
 Ossian (Macpherson), 301, 316.
 Ottawa Conference, 243.
 "Our Scottish Letter," 339.
 Outfield and Infield, 189, 213.
 Overlordship, English claim of,
 17-8, 21-2.
 Oxford, Earl of. *See* Asquith and
 Harley.
 Oxford Movement, the, 266.
 Oxford, Provisions of, 82.
 Oxford University, 332.

P

Paine, Tom, 103.
 Painting in Scotland, 296, 303-4.
 Paisley, 93, 142, 144, 160, 162, 183,
 198, 202-3, 207, 212, 218, 224-6,
 229.

Paisley shawls, 217-8.
 Palace, the, in Scotland, 194-5.
Palmer of Honour, The (Douglas),
 308.
 Palmer, Rev. Fysshie, 104.
 Palmerston, Viscount, 119.
 Papacy, 16-7, 26, 39, 44, 46, 285.
 "Papal Aggression," 118.
 Paper, manufacture of, 223, 240.
 Parish Councils, 128, 185-6.
 Parish schools, 325-7.
 Parliament, English, 54-5, 59-64,
 71-2, 74, 76-8, 82, 156-7.
 Parliament, Scottish, 27, 29, 32,
 34-5, 41, 43-5, 49-55, 57, 60-2,
 64-78, 82-3, 87, 134, 140, 152,
 156-7, 175, 177.
 Parliament of Great Britain, 70,
 77-8, 83, 88-90, 97-105, 107,
 Chapter V *passim*, 156-65, 170-
 1, 175, 177-8, 183, 187, 248,
 258-60, 264, 270, 273-4.
 Parliament Act, 132.
 Parliamentary burghs, 160, 183.
 Parochial boards, 184-5.
 Partick, 226.
 Partick division (Glasgow), 143,
 163.
 Partition Treaties, 72.
 Pathay, Battle of, 31.
 Patriot Party. *See* Country Party.
 Patronage, 64, 69, 89, 103, 121,
 258-63, 265-9, 271.
 Paul, St., 69.
 Pavia, University of, 174.
 Peace Party, 119.
 Pease-meal, 208.
 Pent, 191-2, 195, 327.
Pebbles to the Play, 305.
 Peeblesshire, 27, 160.
 Peel, Sir Robert, 109, 113-6, 118,
 267.
 Penitents, 114.
 Peerage, Scottish, 90, 99, 156-8,
 199; of Great Britain, 157-8;
 of United Kingdom, 158.
 Peerage Bill, 99.
 Pennycuik, Alexander, 313.
 Pensions, Old Age, 132, 231, 233,
 245.
 Pentland Rising, 65.
 Percles, 30.
 Perpendicular Gothic, 292.
 Perth, 28, 31, 91, 94, 160, 178, 198,
 202, 212, 224.
 Perth, Articles of, 57.
 Perth, Earl of, 68.

- Perthshire, 92, 144, 149, 161, 201-2, 214, 217, 224, 236, 246.
 Peterhead, 160.
Peter Pan (Barrie), 335.
 Petition of Right, 82.
 Pettie, John, 303.
 Pewter, 208.
 Philiphaugh, Battle of, 60.
 Picts, 1-3, 20.
 Pig-iron, 222, 238, 244.
 Pigs, 243, 250.
 Pinkie, Battle of, 42.
 Pitscottie, Lindsay of, 311, 322.
 Pitt, William (Earl of Chatham), 101, 110, 112.
 Pitt, the Younger, 102-3, 110-2, 165.
 Pittenweem Church, 299.
 Plaidings, 192, 194, 197.
 Plaids, 209.
 Plantations. *See* Colonies.
Pleasant Satyrs of the Thrie Estaitis, Ane (Lyndsay), 308, 335.
 Pleas of the Crown, 176.
 Ploughing, methods of, 190, 200.
 Ploughmen, 192, 208-10.
 Pluscardine Priory, 14, 293.
 Poland, 80.
 Police, 182, 184, 186-7.
 Police burghs, 183-4.
 "Policies," 210.
 Poor relief, 166, 183-4, 186, 231, 233, 235, 239, 245, 266, 279.
 Popular party in the Church. *See* "Evangelical" party.
 Population of Scotland, 156, 159-63, 173-4, 188, 206-7, 215, 223-4, 229, 239, 245-6, 251, 277, 284; of England, 157, 159-61, 163, 245, 287.
 Porridge, 197, 208, 225, 228, 232, 329.
 Porteous riot, 99, 171.
 Port Glasgow, 197, 247.
 Portincross tower, 295.
 Portuguese influences in Roslyn Chapel, 293.
 Port wine popularised by French Wars, 209, 229.
Post-nati decision, 55.
 Post Office Savings, 148, 235.
 Potatoes, 191, 199, 208, 214, 225, 228, 232, 236-7, 243, 329.
 Potteries, 205, 223, 241.
 Poultry, 189, 191, 250.
 Power-looms, 216-7.
Prais of Aige, The (Monryson), 306.
 Prayer-Books, of 1637, 57-8, 64, 310; English, 264.
 Pre-Raphaelitism, 303.
 Presbyterianism in Scotland, 50, 52, Chapter III *passim*, 89, 113, Chapter VIII *passim*, 291, 299, 309-12, 326, 331. *See also* Church of Scotland and other Churches.
 Presbyteries, 50, 56-7, 258, 267, 333.
 President, Lord (of Court of Session), 165, 175, 178, 180.
 Press, the Scottish, 108, 116, 125, 229, 336-7.
 Preston, Battle of (1648), 61-2; (1715), 91.
 Prestonpans, Battle of, 92.
 Pretender, the Old. *See* James, Prince.
 Princes Street (Edinburgh), 300.
 Principal (University), 328, 331.
Principles of the Law of Scotland (Erskine), 175.
 Printing, 205, 211, 223, 240, 307.
Prisoners of the Forty-five (Seton and Arnot), cited, 95.
 Prisons, Board (Department) of, 166-7.
 Procurator-Fiscal, 180.
 Professions, the, 191, 223, 234, 240, 254.
 Professorial system at Universities, 329.
 Prohibition party in Scotland, 150.
 Protection and Protectionists, 114, 130, 139, 148, 169-71, 242-4, 252.
 Protectorate, the, 62-3.
 Protest for remeas of Law, 175.
 Protestantism, 40-7, 49-53, 291, 293-4, 298-9, 325.
 Protestant Succession. *See under* Hanover.
 Protesters, 312.
 Provincial Council of Scottish Church, 17, 45, 324.
 Provisions of Oxford, 82.
Provost, The (Galt), 319.
 Psalms, Metrical Version of, 61.
 Public Assistance. *See* Poor relief.
 Public schools in Scotland, 334.
 Punch, whisky-, 209.

Q

Qualifications for Vote. *See under* Franchise and Women.

Quarterly Review, 108, 336.
 Queen's Bench, Court of, 177.
 Queensberry, Duke of, 87-8, 164.
 Quoits, 228.
 Quotas, import- and production-, 243.

R

Rabelais, François, 312, 318.
 Radicalism in Scotland, 84, 86-7, 102, 110, 112-6, 123, 135-7, 145-6, 150, 154-5, 314.
 "Radical War," the, 108.
 Raelum, Sir Henry, 303.
Raiders, The (Crockett), 320.
 Railways, 205, 220.
 Ramsay, Allan, the painter, 303-4 ; the poet, 312-4.
 Randolph, Thomas, 26.
 Ransom, David II's, 29.
Rare Adventures and Painful Pergrinations (Lillygow), 312.
 Ratsmyer franchise, 119, 160.
 Rationalization, 253-5.
 Reaper, introduction of, 213.
 Reay, Lord, 92-3.
 Rector, Lord (Universities), 151, 325, 328, 331.
 Redford Barracks, 131, 172.
 Redistribution Acts, 159-63.
 Reform, Parliamentary, 103, 109-10, 112-5, 117, 119-20, 122, 125, 137, 140, 154, 159-63, 183.
 Reform Acts, first, 109-10, 154, 159-60, 183 ; second, 115, 119-20, 160-1 ; third, 115, 122, 161 ; fourth, 137, 161-3 ; fifth, 140, 161, 163.
 Reform Union, 114.
 Reform Whigs. *See* Old Whigs.
 Reformation, the, 40-53, 79, 83, 86, 155, 278, 293-4, 298-9, 305, 308-11, 325-7.
 Reformed Church. *See under* Church of Scotland.
 Reformed Presbyterian Church, 69-70, 260, 263, 269, 276-7, 280.
 Regalities, 180, 182.
 Regality, burghs of, 180, 182-4.
 Regality courts, 176, 179.
 Regent system at Universities, 328-9.
 Regional surveys, 301.
 Register House (Edinburgh), 300.
 Registration of land-deeds, 180.
 Reid, Thomas, 330.
 Relief Church, 117, 260-1, 263, 268.
 Renaissance, the, 294, 298-9, 305, 307.
 Renaissance, the Scottish, 141, 315-6, 338-9.
 Renfrew, 158.
 Renfrewshire, 11, 144, 149, 161, 163, 202-3, 207.
 Renfrewshire, East, 142, 147, 150.
 Rennie, John, 220.
 "Repealers" (Irish), 115.
 Repertory Theatres, 335.
 Representation of the People Acts. *See* Reform Acts.
 Resolutioners, 312.
 Restoration, the, 63, 70, 326.
 "Resurrectionists," the, 227-8.
 Revenue of Scotland, 99, 120, 141, 152, 157, 169-74, 206.
 Revolution, the (1688-9), 68-71, 74, 82-4, 97, 164, 258-60, 326.
 Revolution, the French. *See* French Revolution.
 Revolution, the Industrial. *See* Industrial Revolution.
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 303.
 Rheims, coronation of Charles VII at, 31.
 Rheumatism, 192.
 Richard I of England, 18.
 Richard II, 29.
 Richard III, 35.
 Richardson, Samuel, 318.
Rights of Man (Paine), 103.
 Rizzio, David, 47.
 Roads, 121, 181-2, 186-7, 189, 191-2, 204, 220.
Robens and Makyns (Henryson), 306.
 Robert I of Scotland, 24-6, 29, 304.
 Robert II, 28-9.
 Robert III, 29-30.
 Robertson, J. Logie, 317.
 Roderick Dhu, 4.
 Rogers the musician, 297.
Romance of War, The (Grant), 319.
 Romanists. *See* Catholics.
 Romans in Scotland, 1, 290.
 Romantic Revival, the, 313.
 Rome, 8, 17, 32, 283.
 Root-crops, introduction of, 199-200.
 Rosebery, Earl of, 84, 123, 128, 130, 166.
 Roslyn Chapel, 293, 306.
 Ross, 92, 160 ; and Cromarty, 162, 246.

Ross, T., 296, 299.
 Rosses, 92.
 Rosslyn, Earl of, 111.
 Rosyth, 130, 172.
 Rotation of crops, 189, 200.
 Rothes, Duke of, 65.
 Rothesay, Duke of, 30.
 Rothesay, "nation" of, 325.
 Roxburgh Castle, 31-2.
 Roxburgh, Duke of, 87, 98-9, 164.
 Roxburghshire, 27; and Selkirkshire, 150.
 Royal Bank of Scotland, 201.
 Royal burghs. *See* Burghs.
 "Royal mile" (Edinburgh), 197.
 Rum, 205.
 Run-rig holdings, 189-90, 200, 213.
 Rural depopulation, 163, 207-8, 210-1, 215-6, 235, 237-8.
 Rusco tower, 295.
 Russell, Lord John, 118.
 Russia, 80, 215, 237. *See also* Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
 Rutherglen, 66, 158.
 Rutherglen division (Lanarkshire), 147.
 Ruthven, Raid of, 51.

S

Sabbatarianism, 208, 269, 278, 281, 326-7, 330.
 Safeguarding of Key Industries, 242.
 St. Andrews, Bishopric of, 8, 17.
 St. Andrews Castle, 41-2, 294.
 St. Andrews Cathedral, 293.
 St. Andrews University, 33, 322-5, 328, 330-2.
 St. Giles Church, 301; riot at, 58.
 St. Mary's Isle, Monastery at, 10.
 St. Michael's Church (Cupar), 299.
 St. Regulus Tower (St. Andrews), 293.
 St. Rollox division (Glasgow), 147, 150.
 St. Salvator's College (St. Andrews), 34.
 St. Stephens (Westminster), 97.
 Salisbury, Marquis of, 123, 126-7.
 Salmon, 197.
 Salt, 170, 193-5, 198, 208.
 Saltmarket (Glasgow), 28, 231.
 Salvation Army, 277, 297.
 Sanitation, 197, 225, 227-8, 230-1.
 Savings Bank deposits, 148, 235.
 Saxon and Celt, conflict of, 3-10, 13-4, 19.
 Scandinavia, 80, 196.
 Scapa Flow, 17.
 School Boards, 120-1, 184, 333.
 Schoolmasters' Act of 1802, 107, 331.
 Schools, Scottish, 322-7, 331, 333-4. *See also* Education.
 Science, Faculty of, 333.
 Scone, 24-5, 27; Abbey of, 9.
Scotch Drink (Burns), 314.
Scotichronicon (Fordun), 304.
Scotland in Quest of her Youth, 339.
 Scotland, Church of. *See* Church of Scotland.
 Scots Greys, the, 131, 172.
 Scots Guards in France, 31.
 Scots Law, 81, 174-80; study of, 329-30, 333.
Scots Magazines, The, 336.
 Scotsman, The, 108, 116, 125, 336-7.
Scotsman's Heritage, A, cited, 82.
 Scots National League, 141.
Scots Quair, A (Gibbon), 321-2.
 Scotsstarvit tower, 300.
Scots Wha Ha's (Burns), 107.
 Scott, Alexander, 310.
 Scott, Sir Walter, 4, 13, 83, 105, 109-10, 302, 315-9, 322.
Scottish Abbeys and Social Life (Coulton), 292, 323-4.
 Scottish Emergency Organisation, 140.
 Scottish Liberal Association, 132.
 Scottish Liberal Federation, 131, 139, 153.
 Scottish Nationalist Committee, 133.
 Scottish Nationalist Party, 141-2, 150-3, 155.
 Scottish National Players, 335.
 Scottish Office, 167.
 Scottish Party, 152-3.
 Scottish Philosophy, the, 263, 318, 330.
 Scottish School of Painting, 303.
 Scottish Trade Union Congress, 140.
 Scottish Unionist Association, 152.
 Scott-Lang, Sir Peter R., 330.
 Scotts of Greenock, 221.
 Scrymgeour, Mr. Edwin, 150.
 Sculpture in Scotland, 296, 301.
 Scutching flax, 194, 202.
 Secessions, ecclesiastical, 70, 113-4.

- 117, 183, 260-3, 268, 275, 277, 280-1.
 Secretaries of State, 164-7.
 Secretary (of State) for Scotland, 72, 84, 98, 100, 110, 123, 125, 127, 140, 164-7, 185, 246, 248.
 Sedan, University of, 55.
 Self-Denying Ordinance, 60.
 Self-government. *See* Home Rule.
 Selkirkshire, 150, 160.
 Sempills, the, 310, 314.
 Senate (University), 328, 331.
 Serfdom in mines and salt-pans, 195, 208.
 Servants, domestic. *See* Domestic service.
 Services, farm, 188-9.
 Session, Court of, *see* Court of Session; Lord President of, *see* under President; Lords of, *see* under Lords.
 Seton, Sir Bruce, and Mrs. Arnot, cited, 95.
 "Setts" of royal burghs, 181.
 Seven Years' War, 210.
 Severus, Emperor, 1.
 Sewing-schools, 331.
 Shakespeare, William, 304.
 Shale oil, 223.
 Sharpe, James, Archbishop of St. Andrews, 66.
 Shaw, Christian, 202.
 Sheep, 189-91, 198, 200, 210, 214-5, 236.
 Shelley, Percy B., 304.
 Shells, Scottish output of, 234.
 "Sheltered" occupations, 223-4, 234, 241, 253-4, 256.
 Sheriff and sheriffdom, 12, 178-81.
 Sheriff-courts, 176, 178-9.
 Sheriffmuir, Battle of, 91, 94.
 Sheriff-substitute, 179.
 Sherry popularised by French Wars, 229.
 Shetland, 19, 34, 129-30, 246.
 Shottleston division (Glasgow), 147, 150.
 Shipbuilding, 35, 136, 196, 219-24, 235, 238-40, 243-4, 252-3.
 Ships and Shipping, 35, 136, 196-7, 205-6, 212, 220-3, 234-5, 238, 252.
 Shire-members, 158-62, 181.
 Shires as political units, 78, 115-6, 144-5, 158-62, 184-7.
 Shoemaking, 205; Shoemakers, *see* Cordiniers.
 Shooting, 210, 215-6.
 Shopkeepers, 223, 253-4.
 Shop Stewards' Committees, 137.
 Silk, 191, 198, 203, 209, 217, 219, 241.
 Simson, Professor, 262, 270.
 Sinclair, Master of, 93.
 Sinclair, Oliver, 40.
 Singing-schools, 331.
 Shin Pein, 137.
Sire de Maledroit's Door, The (Stevenson), 319-20.
 Skin-diseases, 192.
 Slate, 205, 210.
 Sleat, Macdonalds of, 92.
 Slums, 230-2, 235, 245, 301.
 Small Landholders (Scotland) Act, 1911, 215, 249.
 Small-pox, 227.
 Smith, Adam, 312, 330.
 Smith, Alexander, 317.
 Smith, Professor Robertson, 270-1.
 Smith, Walter, 317.
 Smollett, Tobias, 312, 318.
 Smuggling, 99, 171-2, 193, 198, 209.
 Socialists and Socialism, 113, 127, 130-2, 135-9, 141-51, 153-5, 243, 284-5, 314.
 Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 264, 286, 327.
 Society of Friends, 277.
 Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland, 199, 201.
 Society of the Friends of the People, 103-4, 112.
 Solemn League and Covenant, 58-66, 69.
 Solway Moss, Battle of, 40.
 Somerset, Protector, 41-2.
 Song-schools, 296-7, 323.
Songs of the Hebrides (Kennedy-Fraser), 302.
 Sophia of Hanover, Electress, 76-7.
 Southern Secretary, 164.
South Wind (Douglas), 320-1.
 Sovietism, 137.
 Spain, 35-6, 45, 72-3, 91, 96, 223, 284, 293.
 Spanish Succession, War of the, 75, 170-1.
 Spenser, Edmund, 304.
 Spices, 196.
 Spinning, 190, 192, 194, 198, 201-3, 216-7, 226.
 Spotliswoode, Archbishop, 311.

- Squadrons Volants*, 87-9, 98-100, 107.
- Stair, Viscount, 175; first Earl of, 71-2, 87; second Earl of, 199.
- Standard, Battle of the, 15.
- Standing Joint Committee, 185.
- Stanhope, Earl of, 98-9.
- Steam-engine and Steam-power, 204, 213, 216-7, 219-21.
- Steamships, 220-3. *See also* Ships and Shipping.
- Steel, 219, 222-4, 234, 238-40, 243, 252-3.
- Stents, 169, 182, 326.
- Stephen, King of England, 15.
- Stevenson, R. L., 317-20.
- Stewartries, 176.
- Stewarts, 11, 28-9, 34-5, 74, 82-3, 96, 259.
- Stickit Minister, The* (Crockett), 320.
- Stirling, 28, 92-3, 121, 178, 198.
- Stirling Bridge, Battle of, 23.
- Stirling Castle, 26, 32, 95, 294.
- Stirling and Falkirk burghs, 142, 162.
- Stirlingshire, 149, 163.
- Stirlingshire, East, 219.
- Stobs, 130.
- Stock-breeding, 190, 200-1, 204, 213-5, 243, 253.
- Stockings, 194, 209.
- Stockton and Darlington Railway, 220.
- Stockwell Street (Glasgow), 228.
- Stormont, Viscount. *See* Mansfield, Earl of.
- Strathbogie case, 267.
- Strathclyde, 2-3, 7.
- Strikes, 138, 140, 235, 238-9, 255.
- Stuarts of Appin, 92.
- Students' Representative Council, 331.
- Succession, Protestant. *See under* Hanover.
- Sucken, the, 189.
- Sudan, War in the, 129.
- Sugar, 205-6, 228; sugar machinery, 221.
- Sunday schools, 275.
- Sunday travel, 289.
- Sunset Song* (Gibson), 321.
- Supervision, Board of, 166, 184-5.
- Supper, 191, 197.
- Supply, Commissioners of. *See* Commissioners of Supply.
- Surgeons. *See* Barbers and Chirurgeons.
- Surrey, Earl of, 16.
- Sutherland, 162, 246-7.
- Sutherlands, 92.
- Switzerland, 80, 250.
- Synod, Provincial, 56, 258.
- T
- T-type of Tower, 299-300.
- Tacksman, Highland, 188-9, 200-1, 210.
- Tailors, 191, 195.
- Talisman* (Scott), 317.
- Tam o' Shanter* (Burns), 106, 314.
- Tam Samson's Elegy* (Burns), 314.
- Tannahill, Robert, 315.
- Tantallon Castle, 294.
- Tariff Reform. *See* Protection.
- Tartan, proscription of, 100-1.
- Taverns, 197.
- Taxation, 63, 120, 141, 152, 159, 167-74, 181-2, 184-6, 193.
- Tea, 172, 191, 198, 208-9, 232-3, 247.
- Tea-Table Miscellany* (Ramsay), 313.
- Teinds, abolition of, 274.
- Telford, Thomas, 220.
- Temperance movements, 118-9, 133, 229, 233-4, 249.
- Temperance (Scotland) Act, 133.
- Tennis, 233, 249.
- Tenurial systems. *See* Land-tenure.
- Ten Years' Conflict, 266-7, 269.
- Terregles Church, 299.
- Terror, Reign of, 104-5, 108.
- Testament of Crossaid* (Henryson), 306.
- Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy, The* (Dunbar), 307.
- Teviotdale, "nation" of, 325.
- Textiles, 190, 192-5, 201-5, 209, 216-9, 224, 235, 238, 241, 243, 252-3, 255; textile machinery, 221.
- Theatres, 211, 228, 249, 261, 335.
- Theodosius, Roman general, 1.
- Theology, study of, 331.
- Third Secretaryship of Stato. *See under* Secretary (of Stato) for Scotland.
- Thirty-Nine Articles, the, 273.
- Thisle and the Rose, The* (MacEwen), 152.
- Thistle Chapel (St. Giles), 301.

Thread, manufacture of, 218-9, 253.
 Threshing-machine, invention of the, 199-200.
 Threave tower, 295.
Thrissill and the Rose, The (Dunbar) 306.
 Thomson, Mr. G. M., 141, 284.
 Thomson, James, 312.
 Tillage methods, 189-90.
 Timber, 191, 196, 203-4, 220-1.
Times, The, cited, 231.
 Tobacco, 170, 203, 205-6, 252;
 Tobacco Lords of Glasgow, 103, 205.
 Toddy, 209.
 Toleration Act. *See* Act of Toleration.
 Toll-roads, 121, 204.
 Tories, 84, 89-90, 97, 101-2, 105-11, 113-5, 120, 132, 134, 147, 151, 154, 157, 164, 166-7, 177, 200, 271. *See also* Conservatives and Unionists.
 Towers, Scottish Baronial, 210, 295, 299-300, 304, 306.
 Town Councils, 153-4, 159, 181-4, 186, 196, 230-1, 334.
 Town-houses, old, 295-6, 299-301.
 Town-life in Scotland, 196-8, 207-9, 211-2, 224-5, 226-34, 246-52.
 Town-planning, 186, 301.
 Townshend, Lord, 90, 98.
 Trade and Commerce, 12-3, 33, 55, 62-3, 70, 72-7, 169-72, 193-9, 205-7, 209, 212, 220-3, 234-5, 242, 255.
 Trade Boards, 242.
 Trades Unions, 126, 135-7, 226, 233, 242, 255.
 Tramways, municipal, 230, 242.
 Tranent riots, 105.
 Transport workers, 223.
 Treason law, 89, 175.
 Treasury, the, 168, 173, 187, 331.
 Treaty of Union, 76-8, 89, 169, 177, 180, 193.
 Treaty of Versailles (1919), 138.
 Trees, planting of, 191, 199-200.
 Trovolyan, Sir George, 127.
 Trinity College (Edinburgh), 293.
Troilus and Cressida (Chaucer), 306.
 Trongate (Glasgow), 231.
 Tron Parish (Glasgow), 286.
 "Truck" system, 233.
 Trustees, Board of, 201-2.
 Trustees, General (of the Church), 274.

Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wed
The (Dunbar), 307.
 Tuberculosis, 247.
 Tulloch, Principal, 318.
 Turgot, Prior of Durham, 6, 8-9.
 Turkey, 80.
 Turrips, 191, 199-200, 208, 237.
 Turnpike-roads, 204.
 Tutors, private, 191.
Twa Dogs, The (Burns), 106, 314.
Twa Herds, The (Burns), 314.
 Tweeddale, Marquis of, 100, 165.
 Tweeds, 217.
 Typhus, 227, 230, 247.
 Tytler, Patrick R., 318.

U

Ulster. *See* Ireland, Northern.
 Under-Secretary (of State) for Scotland, 165-7.
 Unemployment, 138, 187, 210, 226, 233, 235, 238-40, 244-5, 249-50.
 Unemployment Insurance Act of 1934, 187.
 "Unfree" burghs, 180, 193.
 Union Canal, 220.
 Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.), 80, 242. *See also* Russia.
 Union of the Crowns, 36, 54, 71, 76, 164, 195, 309.
 Union of the Kingdoms, planned by James VI, 54-5, 70; achieved under Cromwell, 62-3, 70; negotiated, 70, 73-8; consummated, 78; significance of, 79-83, 188; legality of, 159, 258; terms of, 77-8, 156-9, 164, 167-70, 174-7, 193, 258; consequences of, 88-90, 97, 112, 170-1, 174, 177-8, 198-201, 205, 259-62; reconsideration urged, 124, 134, 141, 152.
 Unionism (Liberal), 125-6, 129-32, 134-7, 142-3, 152, 337.
 Unionist sentiment in Scotland, 84-7, 110, 112, 123, 154-5.
 Unitarianism, 275, 277.
 United Free Church, 131, 133, 272-4.
 United Free Church (Continuing), 275-7, 280.
 United Irishmen, 105.
 United Original Secession Church, 269, 276-7, 280-1.

United Parliament. *See* Parliament of Great Britain.
 United Presbyterian Church, 120, 178, 268-74, 280, 286.
 United Scotsmen, 105.
 United Secession Church, 117, 268.
 United States of America (U.S.A.), 80-1, 215, 222, 239, 242, 252, 288-9, 298.
 Universities, Scottish, 33, 131, 142, 151, 160, 162, 263, 322-33, 339.

V

Van Dyck, Sir Anthony, 303.
 Venetian palaces, 298.
 Vernacular, the Scots, 305-15, 321-2, 338.
 Verneuil, Battle of, 30.
 Versailles, Treaty of (1919), 138.
 Veto Act, 260.
 Villon, François, 307.
 Victoria, Queen, 113, 129-30.
 Vienna, 301.
 Virginia, 206.
 "Voluntary Controversy," 114.
 Voluntary principle in Scottish Presbyterianism, 178, 265, 268, 272.
 Volunteer Companies, 105.
 Voting qualifications. *See* Franchise.

W

Wado's roads, 91, 100-1, 204.
 Wages, 192, 195, 203, 210, 216-7, 222, 226, 233.
 Wales, 80, 124, 148, 245, 254, 283.
 Wall, Roman, 1.
 Wallace, William, 23.
 Wallace (Blind Harry), 304.
 Wallsend, 253.
 Walpole, Sir Robert, 98-100, 112, 165.
 Walston Church, 299.
 Walton, E. A., 303.
 War, the Great (1914-8), 134-8, 215, 234-6, 238, 252, 274.
 War Memorial, Scottish National (Edinburgh Castle), 301.
 War of Independence, Scottish, 4, 10, 14-5, 23-6, 32, 292.
 Wars of the Roses, 34.
 Warbeck, Perkin, 36.
 Wardlaw, Lady, 312.

Warenn, William of (Earl of Surrey), 16.
 Waterloo, Battle of, 108.
 Water-power, 202-4.
 Water-supply, public, 184, 227, 230, 242.
 Watt, James, 204.
 Waverley (Scott), 316.
 Waverley Novels, the (Scott), 315-9.
 Weavers and weaving, 190, 194-5, 198, 202-3, 214, 216-7, 222, 229.
 Websters, Craft of, 195.
 Weddings, 192-3, 226.
 Wellington, Duke of, 109, 111.
 Welsh, Rev. David, 266.
 Wesleys, the, in Scotland, 283.
 Western Bank failure, 213.
 Western Isles division (Inverness-shire and Ross and Cromarty), 162.
 West Lothian, 162, 219, 247. *See also* Linlithgowshire.
 Westminster, 70, 74, 78, 87, 122, 134, 156, 163, 177.
 Westminster Assembly of Divines, 60-1, 270, 278.
 "Westminster Standards," 60-1, 69, 258, 309.
 Wheat, 200-1, 214-5, 234, 236-7, 243.
 Wheaton bread. *See* Bread.
 Wheatley, J., 146.
 Whigs, 74-5, 84, 87, 90, 96-9, 101-11, 113-4, 165, 177, 260, 266-7, 316.
 Whisky, 172, 209, 229, 330. *See also* Distilling.
 White, Dr. John, quoted, 287.
 Whitehall, 167-8.
 White Paper, Treasury (December, 1932), 152, 173-4.
 Whyte-Melville, G. J., 319.
 Wightman, General, 91.
 Wigtown burghs, 161.
 Wilkie, Sir David, 303.
 William the Lion, King of Scots, 13-8.
 William I (the Conqueror), 6-7, 17.
 William II (Rufus), 6.
 William III (of Orange), 68-75.
 Wilson, John ("Christopher North"), 336.
 Winchester, charter of, 13; Earl of, 13.
 Window in Thrums (Barrie), 320.
 Window-tax, 225.

- Wine, 75, 191, 196, 198, 208-9, 229.
 Winnowing-machine, 199.
 Winter-leed for cattle, 190-1, 200, 208.
 Wireless apparatus, manufacture of, 241.
 Wishart, George, 41.
 Wishaw, 232; *see also under* Motherwell.
 Witchcraft, 261.
 Wodrow, Robert, 312.
 Women, Votes for, 120, 137, 140, 161-2.
Wooring of Joh and Jenny, The, 297.
 Wool and woollens, 170-1, 190-6, 198-200, 202-3, 209-10, 214-5, 217, 219, 240, 253.
 Worcester, Battle of, 62.
 Wrights and Masons, 195.
 Wrought iron, 222.
Wyf of Auchtermuchty, The, 297.
 Wyntoun, Andrew de, 304.

Y

- Yellow Frigate, The* (Grant), 319.
 York, Archbishopric of, 8, 16-7.
 York, James, Duke of. *See* James VII and II.
 York and Lancaster, 34.
 Yorkshire weavers, 214.
 Young Scots Society, 130.
 Yule Vacance Act, 250.

Z

- Z-type of Tower, 299.
 Zetland. *See* Shetland.



